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# Andrew Grant's Go History Pages

## INTRODUCTION

I've always been interested in history, and I'm also interested in go - so I suppose it was inevitable that I'd become interested in the history of go. But studying go history was difficult - very little material was available on the subject, and what there was consisted of a jumble of scattered anecdotes in various books and magazines. I did my best to make some kind of continuous historical narrative out of this, and gradually built up a picture of the development of go in Japan. (As for China and Korea, I knew, and still know, nowhere near enough to write a history like this one.) All the same, I still wished that somebody would put the existing historical material into a single book.

Eventually, I started to write it myself - purely for my own reference and certainly with no thoughts of publication. My first (hand-written) draft was pretty patchy, and it only covered the Edo period (1600-1868). All the same, by the time I'd finished, it seemed a shame not to submit it to the British Go Journal.

I decided that if I were going to do this I ought to widen its scope a bit, so I added an introductory chapter on pre-Edo period go and several chapters to bring the story up to the present day. "Four Hundred Years of Japanese Go" started serialisation in Journal 85 (Winter 1991), and ran over twenty-three instalments. (I had more instalments to come, as you will see, but after the first twenty-three the BGJ Editor had had enough!) It has been revised many times since in the light of new information (notably the appearance of "The Go Player's Almanac" in 1992), and is now reasonably complete.

All the same, this was still a serialisation; what I wanted was a single book. So here it is - admittedly not in book form, but on the World Wide Web (the ultimate vanity publisher). Due to continuing revisions the text isn't identical, and in many places isn't even close, to that which appeared in the Journal. Some of the accompanying games are different too.

**Andrew Grant**

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*Note on names:* All Japanese names are given in the Oriental style, surname first. The names of go players can be confusing, since in the Edo period (and to a lesser extent today) go players changed their names at various stages of their careers. A good example of this is Gen'an Inseki, who changed his name five times (but was never actually called Gen'an Inseki). Originally surnamed Hashimoto, he took the name Hattori Rittetsu on joining the minor Hattori school, later changing his name again to Hattori Intetsu. On transferring to the Inoue school, he became Inoue Ansetsu, and on becoming Inoue head changed his name yet again, to Inoue Inseki, in accordance with Inoue tradition. It was not until he retired that he adopted the name Gen'an (without the Inseki). Gen'an's successor, Setsuzan, went one better with a record six name changes: Todani Umetaro / Kadono Dowa / Kadono Chuzaemon / Mizutani Junsaku / Inoue Shutetsu / Inoue Inseki / Setsuzan. The scope for confusion is such that, with a few exceptions, I have ignored such changes entirely.

*Note on dates:* The Gregorian calendar was not adopted in Japan until January 1st, 1873; dates before this are given according to the traditional Japanese lunar calendar, which lags behind the Gregorian calendar by one to two months. Since a lunar year is only 354 days long, about once every three years an extra "intercalary month" had to be inserted into the year to keep it in step with the seasons. To avoid confusion I refer to lunar months by number - hence "the First Month" means the first month of the lunar year (which began on the day of the second new moon following the winter solstice). Months in the Gregorian calendar are referred to by name - January, February etc. Years are given Western-style throughout, except in the game records, where years are given in both the traditional Japanese and Western styles.

*Note on games:* Each game relates to the period discussed in the foregoing chapter, and involves players mentioned in the chapter. If the game has historical significance and is mentioned in the text, so much the better, but this has not always been possible. This is not a teaching text and so I have kept commentary to a minimum, only commenting when lack of commentary makes the significance of the game impossible to understand. Some of these games are commented in the English-language go literature. SGF files of each game are included for downloading. Thanks are due to Alan Crossman who provided these files.

## CHAPTER 1. Mediaeval Go

Go is played throughout the Far East, and in modern times there is intense rivalry between the Chinese, Japanese and Korean professional elites. International go matches have become keenly fought affairs in which the result is eagerly awaited by enthusiasts in all three countries. Whoever wins, the result is never a foregone conclusion.

However, this state of affairs is only a recent development. Chinese and Korean go have only caught up with Japan in the present century, and in the case of China, only in the last twenty years or so. Before then, Japan stood supreme as the unquestioned world leader in go, so much so that it could be (and was) assumed that the Japanese champion was the world's strongest player.

How did Japan achieve this position of dominance? To answer this question it is necessary to go back over four hundred years, to the meeting of a samurai warlord and a Buddhist monk which touched off the golden age of go. However, to appreciate the developments which took place during this period, it is useful to have some knowledge of the state of the game before then.

It is generally believed in Japan that go was introduced there in about 740 AD, by one Kibi no Makibi, who had been sent as an ambassador to the Chinese court and learnt the game there. This is not strictly true. Go had been known in Japan for over a hundred years at the time of Kibi's visit, and its introduction may date to as early as the sixth century. However, its popularity in Japanese court circles may be the result of Kibi's report that the game was highly esteemed at the Chinese court.

At first the game seems to have been confined to the Japanese court, but over the next century or two it spread among the upper classes generally. The literary works of the period, such as the *Tale of Genji*, which dates from the early eleventh century, frequently mention go, and from these references it is clear that the game had already gained an avid, if limited, following.

The game as played in those days differed in several ways from modern go. Go was originally played on a 17x17 board, although this was replaced by the 19x19 board very early on. The Japanese also adopted the Chinese practice of starting every game with a mandatory cross-hoshi fuseki; that is, before starting to play, each player occupied a pair of diagonally opposite 4-4 points. Furthermore, it seems that White played first in those days.

Since games were never recorded in the early mediaeval period, it is not possible to say how strong the top players of the day were, but a clue is provided by the story of a player called Osan who gained renown for his ability, after finishing a game, to replay it from memory. This suggests a fairly low level of achievement, since any modern professional as well as a great many strong amateurs can do this routinely these days.

As the mediaeval period continued the game spread from the aristocracy to the Buddhist and Shinto clergy and to the samurai warriors. Nichiren, who founded the Nichiren sect of Buddhism, is said to have been one of the best go players of his day (around 1250). He is also said to have introduced the practice of keeping game records; a record survives of a game between Nichiren and a nine year old disciple named Kisshomaru, dated the First Month of 1253. However, it should be noted that most people believe that this game record is a nineteenth century forgery, and barring this record there is little evidence that Nichiren played go at all (although there are several classic whole-board problems attributed to him).

Early game records, whether authentic or not, give a good idea of the way go was played in the old days. First, non-4-4 point joseki were only used in handicap games of 2 or 3 stones, where there were empty corners at the start of the game. In even games, due to the mandatory cross-hoshi opening, the only joseki seen were 4-4 joseki. The earliest of these is believed to date from the tenth century. However, the joseki current in those days have long ago been discarded.

Another feature of mediaeval go, probably the most striking to modern eyes, was its incredible aggressiveness. The modern ideas of fuseki development were far in the future, and games were marked by immediate savage fighting. If Black, say, approached one corner, White would invariably respond by approaching another; wide extensions were simply not made - if they had been, they would have been invaded straight away (the idea of building a moyo was totally alien and unheard-of); consequently, games involved large numbers of small groups jostling for eyes from start to finish. Under these circumstances, fighting ability was the only criterion for strength at go. No wonder the samurai considered go a good way to pass the time between battles!

Finally, sometime in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, the cross-hoshi fuseki was abandoned in favour of starting with an empty board as we do today. The cross-hoshi had been largely responsible for the old style of play, and abandoning it made the modern style of go possible, although it took a long time for the old super-aggressive style to die out. This reform, which the Chinese did not adopt until the 1920's, is the first reason why Japanese go developed to a higher level than in China, and was undoubtedly the most significant advance in the development of go since the establishment of the 19x19 board.

Sadly, the Japanese did not adopt another reform that was taking place in China at about this time. The Japanese system of counting, in which only vacant points count as territory, was originally used in China as well; but the Chinese had become aware of its defects and gradually abandoned it in favour of counting both occupied and surrounded points as territory. Had the Japanese done likewise, we would not now have the annoyance of two competing sets of rules (not to mention the numerous hybrids that have been devised), and the position of go world-wide might well be stronger.

## CHAPTER 2. Sansa

After the cross-hoshi was abandoned, the 4-4 point fell out of use in non-handicap games, probably because it could not support a shimari. By the mid-sixteenth century, the 3-4, 3-5 and 4-5 points had become by far the commonest openings. The 3-3 point was considered far too small. The kind of large-scale thinking required to appreciate the merits of the 3-3 and 4-4 points is a modern development. Nobody in the sixteenth century thought in terms of large frameworks.

At this time, Japan was beginning to emerge from a long period of civil war. The samurai warlord Oda Nobunaga, who began the process of reunifying the country, was a strong and enthusiastic go player, and he decided to seek out the strongest player in Japan in order to become his pupil. It

happened that the strongest player of the time was a Buddhist monk of the Nichiren sect named Nikkai, who lived in a pagoda called *Hon'inbo* in the Jakkoji temple in Kyoto.

Nobunaga must have been annoyed to discover this, for he despised the Nichiren sect, but there was no doubt that Nikkai was the strongest player in Japan, so in 1578, during a visit to Kyoto, Nobunaga sent for him and was very impressed despite himself. Nobunaga was by no means a weak player by the standards of the time, but Nikkai was still able to give him five stones handicap. (On the evidence of his surviving games, Nikkai was about as strong as a 5 dan amateur today.) It was Nobunaga who first referred to Nikkai as the *Meijin*, which means "expert" or "great man" and which later came to be applied to the strongest player of the day as a title.

In 1582 Nikkai was summoned to the Honnoji temple in Kyoto to play a game against his main rival, Kashio Rigen, in Nobunaga's presence. A triple ko is said to have arisen in this game, requiring the game to be abandoned. A game record survives, but shows only 128 moves, by which time White was far ahead and it is hard to see how a triple ko could arise. (Early game records often end as soon as one player has opened up a significant lead - only if a game was close throughout will the whole game be recorded.)

This game is one of the most famous in go history because of what happened next. The reunification of Japan was still far from complete, and heavy fighting was taking place in the western provinces, where Toyotomi Hideyoshi, one of Nobunaga's subordinate generals, was making steady but slow progress. On the night of the triple ko game Nobunaga ordered another subordinate general, Akechi Mitsuhide, to march west to relieve Hideyoshi. Akechi seems to have harboured a secret grudge against Nobunaga, for upon reaching the Katsura River, just west of Kyoto, he turned his troops around, shouting "The enemy is in the Honnoji!", and marched them back, capturing the temple and forcing Nobunaga to commit suicide. Because of this, a triple ko was thereafter regarded as an unlucky omen - not unlucky for the players, just generally inauspicious.

Nobunaga's work was continued by Hideyoshi, who, on hearing of Nobunaga's death, concluded a hasty peace treaty in the west, rushed back to Kyoto and promptly defeated and killed Akechi. Like Nobunaga, Hideyoshi was a strong go player, and Nikkai became his teacher.

In 1588 Hideyoshi ordered all the top players of the day to take part in a tournament to determine their relative strengths. Nikkai won this tournament, as expected, and received an annual salary from Hideyoshi as his prize. Hideyoshi also decreed that all other players should henceforth take black (or a handicap) from Nikkai. At about this time Nikkai changed his name to Sansa, and adopted the surname *Hon'inbo* after the pagoda where he lived. It is as Hon'inbo Sansa that he is best known today.

### CHAPTER 3. The Go Schools

The process of reunifying Japan was finally completed in 1600 by Tokugawa Ieyasu, who became shogun (the *de facto* ruler of Japan) three years later. Like his predecessors, Ieyasu was a keen go player, and he took a number of steps to ensure the future development of the game.

The first of these measures was the establishment of the post of *godokoro*. This was a salaried government appointment - Sansa was the first holder of the post. The *godokoro* was responsible for all go matters - he alone could issue promotions, for example. He was the shogun's go teacher, and as such was expected to give up competitive go - indeed, he could (in theory) only play go with the shogun's permission. The post had immense prestige value and its holder's influence spread well beyond the go world, since he had the shogun's ear. Only the current *Meijin* could be appointed *godokoro*, although the appointment was not automatic. Sansa became *godokoro* in 1603 - in fact he also gained the equivalent post in the shogi (Japanese chess) world, that of *shogidokoro*, since he was the top shogi player of the day also. However, he soon resigned the shogi post and concentrated on go.

The title of *Meijin* needs some clarification here. As has been mentioned, the word *meijin* means "expert" and originally had no particular significance, but under the newly devised system of grades, *Meijin* became the top grade. This, however, should not be equated with the modern professional 9 dan grade, since only one person could be *Meijin* at a time. This meant that to become *Meijin* one had to be generally recognised as the strongest player in Japan. During most of the Edo period (1600-1868) there was no *Meijin*, and consequently no *godokoro*, because the top players were too closely matched for any one player to be considered pre-eminent.

At this period, dan grades had not yet been devised. Instead, players were ranked according to the handicap they had to take from a player with the rank of *jozu*. *Jozu*, which was later equated to 7 dan, was the top rank that a player could normally aspire to. Although there were two ranks above *jozu*, namely *jun-Meijin* (near-Meijin) and Meijin, promotions to these ranks only occurred in exceptional circumstances. A lesser player's rank would be expressed as, for example, "two stones against *jozu*". The word *jozu* means "skilful".

The second measure taken by Ieyasu to promote go was the establishment, in about 1605, of the *o-shiro-go* (Castle Go). These were official games between the top players, played in the shogun's presence. At first these were played at irregular intervals, and at no fixed venue, but in 1628 they were moved to Edo Castle and became an annual event (though the exact date - the seventeenth of the Eleventh Month - was not fixed until 1716). The castle games were the highlight of the go calendar - only the heads of the go schools (see below) and players ranked as *jozu* or *jun-Meijin* were allowed to take part, although this rule was not always strictly enforced. The Meijin never took part, since, as has been said, he was considered above competition.

But of all the changes in Japanese go at this time the most far-reaching was the establishment of the four go schools. These are considered to have all been founded in 1612, when all the top players (*jozu* or stronger) were awarded annual salaries for the first time (previously only Sansa had received government money). Actually, it was probably several years before all four schools were up and running.

Sansa founded the most prestigious and most lavishly supported school, which he named Hon'inbo. Two of his pupils, Nakamura Doseki and Yasui Rokuzo (who later changed his name to Santetsu), founded the Inoue and Yasui schools respectively. (Not everyone regards Doseki as the founder of the Inoue school as he never took the name Inoue - some prefer to call his successor, Inoue Genkaku Inseki, the first of the line. In this history I take the majority view and count Doseki as the first Inoue.) The fourth school, the Hayashi, was founded by Hayashi Monnyusai, a pupil of Sansa's old rival Kashio Rigen. The Hayashi school, incidentally, owed its name to Monnyusai's humility; he had been a retainer of the shogun, Ieyasu, who gave him the right to take a surname and suggested Mori (forest). Monnyusai considered this too exalted and settled for Hayashi (wood).

All four schools set up shop in Edo (modern Tokyo) and the next 250 years of Japanese go history is the story of how these schools competed fiercely for supremacy, usually over the go board, but often by unashamed political skulduggery. The Hon'inbo school was by far the most successful of the four, although it did have its bad times, particularly the early eighteenth century. However, the Hon'inbo record speaks for itself - of the ten players who became Meijin before it became the name of the modern annual tournament, no less than seven were Hon'inbos (the other three were two Inoues - both of them with strong Hon'inbo school links - and a Yasui. See APPENDIX A).

## CHAPTER 4. San'etsu and Sanchi

By 1623, when Sansa died, the strongest player in Japan was his one-time pupil Nakamura Doseki, usually considered the founder of the Inoue school. Sansa had accordingly arranged for Doseki to be promoted to Meijin and appointed godokoro, effective upon Sansa's death. In return for this favour, Doseki agreed to complete the training of Sansa's twelve-year-old heir San'etsu.

It should be explained here that although San'etsu was Sansa's heir, he was only Sansa's son by adoption - indeed, the Hon'inbos (and the Inoues) maintained the tradition of the head of the school being a Buddhist priest of the Nichiren sect, bound by a vow of celibacy. Actually, this rule was never enforced very strictly, and many Hon'inbos and Inoues maintained mistresses, even wives, and had children. The Yasui and Hayashi heads belonged to the Jodo sect and were not bound by any such vows. The Yasui headship in particular was quite often passed to a son or other blood relative of the previous head.

To maintain the succession, the go schools had all adopted the *iemoto* system, whereby the head of the school adopted his best pupil as his son and bequeathed the headship to this pupil upon his death or retirement. The names Hon'inbo, Inoue, Yasui and Hayashi functioned as surnames, and were therefore taken by the pupil as soon as he was adopted as heir. The other pupils would keep their original surnames, but all the stronger pupils, including the heir, would adopt new given names. In the case of the star pupils, the head of the school would usually donate a character from his own given name, which

explains the similarity of names from one generation to the next; Sansa, San'etsu, Doetsu, Dosaku, Dochii etc. (see APPENDIX B for a list of the go school heads).

As the Hon'inbo heir by adoption, San'etsu changed his original surname of Sugimura to Hon'inbo, but despite taking the name he was not allowed to succeed to the Hon'inbo headship when Sansa died, since he was considered too young, and not strong enough. Consequently, the Hon'inbo school was without a head for seven years, the longest such interval in the history of the go schools.

Doseki fulfilled his part of the bargain with Sansa, and under his tutelage San'etsu rapidly improved. In 1630 he was promoted to jozu and was finally allowed to become the second Hon'inbo. In the same year Doseki died and the office of godokoro fell vacant for the first time.

The post of godokoro was destined to be vacant more often than it was filled, for only a truly great player could hope to receive the appointment. When there was no godokoro, promotions had to be decided by agreement between the four go school heads. This was bound eventually to lead to an impasse if two of the go heads both wanted promotion to Meijin, and this became a recurring theme in Edo period go history.

The first such impasse took place in 1644 between Hon'inbo San'etsu and Yasui Sanchi, who had just become the second Yasui head. Since neither could get the other to back down, they appealed directly to the government to resolve the issue. The authorities told San'etsu and Sanchi to play a *sogo*, with the coveted promotion to Meijin as the prize. The Japanese word *sogo* literally means "fighting go", but perhaps a better translation would be "grudge match" - a match intended to settle some point at issue between the players (see APPENDIX C). The *sogo* was to consist of six games. There had to be an even number of games to enable both players to take black an equal number of times - there was no komi in those days.

The match was played at an extremely leisurely pace - the first game was in 1645 and the last in 1653 - but it decided nothing, since Black won every game, resulting in a 3-3 draw. Consequently the government rejected both players' claims.

In 1658, San'etsu died, and was succeeded by his heir Doetsu. Sanchi's hopes of promotion were revived. In the meantime, however, the administrative side of go was being reorganised.

## CHAPTER 5. Sanchi and Doetsu

In 1662, go and shogi were placed under the jurisdiction of a government official known as the *jisha-bugyo*. This translates as "commissioner for monasteries and shrines" and the post was held on a rotating basis by three (sometimes four) officials serving a month at a time. As the name suggests, the commissioners were primarily concerned with religious matters, and placing go under their control might seem rather bizarre, but this was presumably because of the go schools' Buddhist links.

The *jisha-bugyo* was empowered to act for the government in resolving future disputes such as that between San'etsu and Sanchi, although the commissioners did not administer go matters directly, this remaining the business of the go heads, or of the godokoro if there was one.

In 1668 Sanchi decided to try again for promotion to Meijin godokoro, but this time he bypassed his rivals in the other go schools and applied directly to the *jisha-bugyo*. At the same time he is said to have asked friends in high places to put pressure on the commissioner to issue the promotion, and consequently it was approved without consultation with the other go heads and Sanchi became the third Meijin godokoro of the Edo period.

Needless to say, the other go heads were annoyed by Sanchi's deviousness, none more so than San'etsu's successor, Hon'inbo Doetsu, who felt that Sanchi had bought the promotion he had been unable to earn against San'etsu. Doetsu lodged an instant objection with the *jisha-bugyo* and demanded a *sogo* with Sanchi. This was a risky thing to do, since Sanchi's appointment was in theory an act of the shogun, so Doetsu was in effect criticising his superiors. It is said that the *jisha-bugyo* tried to scare Doetsu by allowing the match but ordering that he be exiled to a distant island for life if he lost. Doetsu is said to have replied that not even the threat of execution would put him off.

Perhaps remembering the slow pace and inconclusive result of Sanchi's previous match, the *jisha-bugyo* ordered that this match should consist of sixty games and be played at the rate of twenty games a year. Doetsu would play on the handicap of *josen* (taking black in every game) since he was only jozu, whereas Sanchi was, of course, Meijin, but this handicap would be revised if either player achieved a lead of six games or won four games in succession.

The first game was played in 1668 and resulted in a jigo. It was rumoured at the time that this had been arranged beforehand at Sanchi's request. Whether this was true or not, it set a bizarre precedent - it became the custom in future sogo matches for the first game to be a prearranged jigo.

The match progressed at a much slower pace than had been ordered; by 1675 only twenty games had been played. After the sixteenth game Doetsu was 9-3 up with four jigo, so the handicap was revised to *sen'aisen* - henceforth Doetsu would take white in every third game. It made little difference, since Doetsu won three of the next four games, only losing his sole game on white. It was enough for Sanchi, and he withdrew from the match and resigned as godokoro in 1676. At the same time, or shortly afterwards, he ceased to be Meijin.

To be fair to Sanchi, it should be pointed out that he never played Doetsu on even terms, and the consensus of opinion among modern professionals is that only a real Meijin could have kept Doetsu on a one-stone handicap for as long as Sanchi did. As for Doetsu, he had no wish to be Meijin himself; he had challenged Sanchi purely on a point of principle, although he is considered an unofficial Meijin on the strength of his win against Sanchi. Having proved his point, and perhaps feeling that winning the match was the perfect way to end his career, he retired as Hon'inbo in 1677.

## CHAPTER 6. Dosaku, the Go Saint

Doetsu had another reason for not wishing to be Meijin: he knew there was a player with a better claim than either Sanchi or himself, namely his heir Dosaku. Even today Dosaku is one of the top candidates for the greatest go player of all time; only Jowa and Shusaku in the nineteenth century and Go Seigen in the twentieth are in the same league. When Doetsu, in his last act as Hon'inbo, recommended that Dosaku be promoted to Meijin and appointed godokoro, there was not one objection raised by the other go schools, something unique in Edo period go history.

How could they object? Dosaku simply dominated the go scene in a way that nobody had done before. He was nearly two stones stronger than his nearest rival; it is no wonder that he became known as a Go Saint (*Kisei*).

Much of Dosaku's advantage was due to his theoretical insights. Although go at this time was not quite as bloodthirsty as in the mediaeval period, the emphasis was still very much on immediate fighting rather than fuseki development. It was Dosaku who developed full-board fuseki strategy, particularly the proper use of pincer joseki, and as a result often had the game sewn up within a few dozen moves against opponents who were still playing the old small-scale style. The Yasui players in particular suffered at Dosaku's hands; they were strong fighters but poor theoreticians, and Sanchi's pupils, including his heir Chitetsu, were all forced down to handicaps of a stone or more.

Dosaku also revolutionised positional analysis by developing the technique of *tewari*, in which one analyses a sequence by removing superfluous stones and changing the order of moves. Many old joseki have been killed off by the use of tewari analysis, for it is invaluable for showing up inefficient moves.

None of this should be taken to mean that Dosaku's openings were perfect by modern standards - being a pioneer of modern go, he could only lay the foundations upon which later players would build, and his games still look old-fashioned (though this is more due to his opponents' moves than his own). Nevertheless, he had shown the way, and over the next few decades the standard of go improved considerably.

Dosaku is also said to have devised the modern system of dan grades, under which Meijin was redefined as 9 dan, jun-Meijin as 8 dan, jozu as 7 dan and other grades were extrapolated from these. However, the title of Meijin, and the rule that only one person could be 9 dan at a time was retained. The terms *jozu* and *jun-Meijin* for 7 dan and 8 dan also remained in use for many years.

Although Dosaku had no serious opposition from the other go schools, he had a pupil who showed promise of becoming just as good as him. This was Ogawa Doteki, who became the Hon'inbo heir in 1684 at the age of fifteen. An older pupil named Kuwahara Dosetsu, who was later to play a major role in go history, is said to have been annoyed at not being chosen as heir, and to have challenged Doteki to a match, but there is no evidence for this, and certainly no match took place. However, to keep Dosetsu happy, Dosaku arranged for him to be adopted into the Inoue school, as the heir to the third Inoue head, Inoue Inseki (Yamazaki Dosa), who was Dosaku's younger brother.

On succeeding as Inoue head, Dosa changed his given name to Inseki, after his predecessor. After this it became the tradition in the Inoue school for the head always to take the name Inoue Inseki upon



succeeding. Since this makes the various Inoue heads impossible to distinguish by name, it is usual to refer to them by an alternative name. Thus, Dosaku's brother was known as Inoue Inseki after becoming Inoue head, but is usually called Inoue Dosa Inseki. The Hayashi school had a similar tradition; they adopted the given name of Monnyu.

In 1690 tragedy struck the Hon'inbo school when Doteki died of tuberculosis at the age of twenty-one. Dosaku had little hope of finding another pupil of Doteki's ability, but he needed an heir, and the strongest of his remaining pupils, Sayama Sakugen, was good enough to fill the vacancy, and Dosaku named him heir in 1692. In the same year Dosetsu succeeded to the Inoue headship.

In 1699 another disaster struck the Hon'inbo school when Sakugen died, also of tuberculosis. Dosaku must have been in despair for the future of his school, for not only was Sakugen dead but Dosaku's two next strongest pupils, Hoshiai Hasseki and Kumagai Honseki, had also succumbed during the past decade and none of the surviving Hon'inbo pupils was worthy of the succession. (Dosetsu, as Inoue head, was of course no longer available.)

Luckily, this state of affairs did not last long. In 1699, the year of Sakugen's death, a nine-year-old prodigy named Kamiya Dochi entered the Hon'inbo school, and Dosaku was soon convinced that Dochi had the potential to succeed him as Hon'inbo.

For the next three years Dochi made great progress under Dosaku's care, and it became clear that he would be a great player. However, in 1702, with Dochi's training still far from complete, Dosaku fell ill, and it was soon apparent that he was dying.

## CHAPTER 7. Dosetsu and Dochi

Dochi had not yet been designated as the Hon'inbo heir, being only 4 dan, but it was necessary to do something to ensure the future of the Hon'inbo school, so Dosaku called the heads of the other three go schools, as well as the senior Hon'inbo pupils, to attend at his deathbed. When they were all assembled, Dosaku formally named Dochi as his successor, and asked the Inoue head, Dosetsu Inseki, to become Dochi's guardian and complete his training.

History was repeating itself. This was the second time an Inoue had been asked to complete the training of a twelve-year-old Hon'inbo. Just as Sansa had rewarded Doseki with a promotion to Meijin, so Dosaku promoted Dosetsu to 8 dan. But there was a catch: Dosaku was determined that Dochi should eventually become Meijin godokoro, and he extracted a promise from Dosetsu not to seek to become godokoro himself. Instead, he should do everything in his power to secure that post for Dochi. Dosetsu had little option but to agree to this, for he owed his teacher a debt of gratitude, even though Dosaku was asking him to abandon all personal ambition.

Dosaku's unreasonableness has come in for some criticism, but may be partly explained if it is true, as has been rumoured, that Dochi was actually Dosaku's illegitimate son. If this is so, it would be a rare (but not unique) example of succession by blood in the Hon'inbo school.

When Dosaku died, Dosetsu moved back into the Hon'inbo residence to undertake Dochi's training. Unlike his predecessor San'etsu, Dochi was allowed to succeed to the Hon'inbo headship at once, which gave him the right to take part in the annual castle games despite being only 4 dan. It must have been an awe-inspiring occasion for a twelve-year-old, but Dochi rose to the challenge, winning his first game against the third Hayashi head, Gen'etsu Monnyu 5 dan, and then beating the fourth Yasui, Senkaku 6 dan, again on black, the following year (1703). The year after, he beat Gen'etsu again, this time taking white, no mean feat in the days before komi.

In 1705, Dochi was drawn against Yasui Senkaku again. Since Dochi was still graded as a 4 dan and Senkaku was 6 dan, the handicap was for Dochi to take black in all their games (*josen*), including the upcoming castle game. However, Dochi's guardian, Dosetsu, suggested to Senkaku that he allow Dochi to play him on *tagaisen* (alternating black and white) in future, since Dochi was clearly stronger than his official grade; he was already taking black from Dosetsu in their teaching games. Senkaku stood on his dignity and refused - there had been little love lost between the Yasuis and the Hon'inbos since Hon'inbo Dosetsu had forced Yasui Sanchi to resign as godokoro.

Dosetsu was still alive, in retirement in Kyoto (he lived to be ninety-one), and at Dosetsu's request he also urged Senkaku to let Dochi play on even. Predictably, Senkaku refused again; he was probably even less inclined to oblige the man who had humiliated his predecessor Sanchi. Finally Dosetsu applied to the jisha-bugyo asking for a sogo between Dochi and Senkaku, and this request was granted,

with the jisha-bugyo compromising over the handicap by allowing Dochi to take white in one game out of three (*sen'aisen*). The forthcoming castle game was to count as the first game of the series, which was to consist of ten games.

The castle games were no longer actually played in the shogun's presence. The gradual improvement in the standard of play over the years meant that games were much slower than they had been, and ever since the 1660's, when one of Dosetsu's games had failed to finish on the day, the practice had been to play the game a few days before the official castle game ceremony and then replay it more quickly before the shogun. This also avoided boring him with the slowness of their play.

It was arranged for Dochi to play Senkaku four days before the official ceremony, but on the day Dochi felt unwell. It was suggested that the game be postponed, but Dochi insisted on playing anyway. It was a risky decision, and sure enough Dochi soon fell behind, despite playing black. He struggled hard to catch up, and thanks to Senkaku's overconfidence the game became close again, but by the evening it was clear to the spectators that Dochi was a point behind with no way to catch up.

Dosetsu, who despite his obvious partiality was the official referee for the match, had gone home during the afternoon, unable to watch Dochi struggling on against a lost position any more. After Dochi had succeeded in narrowing the margin to one point, another Hon'inbo pupil returned home and brought Dosetsu up to date on the progress of the game. However, Dosetsu had to agree with everybody else that there was nothing more that Dochi could do.

Consequently, when a messenger arrived at the Hon'inbo residence in the early hours of the next morning with the news that Dochi had won, Dosetsu could not believe it, but it was soon confirmed. Dochi, despite his illness, had found the most famous yose tesuji ever played, one which everybody else had missed. It gained Dochi two points and thus reversed the lead. Senkaku is said to have believed right to the end that he had won, and to have counted the score three times before admitting defeat.

In the Fourth Month of 1706 Dochi and Senkaku played the second game of their match, but with Dochi recovered from his illness it was a much more one-sided encounter; Dochi won by fifteen points. Two months later, Dochi took white against Senkaku for the first time, won by three points, and Senkaku's pride collapsed. He conceded the match, accepted that Dochi was entitled to play him on even terms, and apologised for ever thinking otherwise.

## CHAPTER 8. Corruption in the Go World

In 1707 Dosetsu decided that Dochi was old enough and strong enough to lead the Hon'inbo school in his own right, so he revoked his guardianship and returned to the Inoue school. The following year Dosetsu became Meijin, but because of his promise to Dosaku he was not able to apply for appointment as godokoro - one of only two occasions in the Edo period when the Meijin was not godokoro as well.

In 1710, there arrived in Edo a diplomatic mission from the Ryukyu Islands (Okinawa), which in those days was a semi-independent kingdom. Among the members of the party was the top Ryukyuan go player, Yara no Satonoshi, and it was arranged for him to play against Dochi (Satonoshi took three stones handicap and lost).

As a matter of diplomacy it was decided that Satonoshi should be awarded an official grading certificate. Since there was no godokoro, grades were controlled by agreement between the four go heads, but Dosetsu pointed out that from a diplomatic point of view it would be better if Satonoshi's diploma were signed by a godokoro, and if they agreed he would be willing to accept the post for this purpose.

Naturally, it was pointed out to Dosetsu that he had promised Dosaku not to become godokoro, but Dosetsu replied that he would resign the post immediately after issuing Satonoshi's diploma, so as to keep to the spirit of his promise and leave the way clear for Dochi's eventual appointment as godokoro. Even this concession only won over two of the other three go heads, namely Dochi, who of course owed his teacher a debt of gratitude anyway, and the fourth Hayashi, Bokunyu Monnyu. Yasui Senkaku absolutely refused to co-operate, but since Dosetsu at least had majority support he applied to the jisha-bugyo anyway, as a result of which he finally received the coveted appointment.

If Senkaku suspected Dosetsu's motives, he was, of course, quite correct. Dosetsu remained godokoro for the rest of his life (he died in 1719, aged seventy-three). At one time go historians were very critical of Dosetsu for breaking his word, but these days Dosaku comes in for more criticism for

obliging Dosetsu to make such a promise in the first place - after all, what gave Dosaku the right to try to reserve the top post in the go world for his successor, while denying it to the top player?

By the time Dosetsu died Dochi was 8 dan, and decided it was time to become Meijin godokoro himself. However, he was only twenty-nine years old, and the other three go heads, considering him too young for the post, refused to support his application, even though they accepted that he was strong enough.

Dochi, however, had no intention of waiting until such time as the other go heads considered him old enough to be Meijin. Since persuasion had failed, he made an interesting threat, which revealed a deep malaise in the go world. Dochi simply threatened to play in earnest in the castle games in future. Apparently he had earlier promised to lose a proportion of his games against the other top players - it is not clear why, though it is clear that there was no rivalry between the go schools at this time. The castle game record for the previous decade is quite interesting; all of the nineteen castle games played between 1710 and 1719 inclusive were won by Black, the margin never being less than two or more than five points (see APPENDIX D).

When Dochi made his threat the other three go heads panicked, just as Dochi had hoped, and fell over each other in their eagerness to placate him. They promptly withdrew their objections to Dochi's promotion - the 1720 castle games were coming up. Dochi had earlier promised to make his game a jigo, and once he was reassured that his promotion would not be blocked again he kept his promise, manufacturing a jigo against Dosetsu's successor, Inoue Sakuun Inseki. They took a game which Dosaku had played in 1697 and won by one point, copied it move for move up to White 146, and then modified the yose to make it end in a jigo.

As a result of this charade, Dochi became Meijin godokoro in 1721, at the age of thirty-one. Despite having had to wait (he is said to have commented that the promotion was ten years too late), he was still the youngest Meijin of the Edo period, but he was destined to have only six years in which to enjoy this status, for he died in 1727.

Dochi was succeeded by his nephew Chihaku, a 6 dan aged seventeen. However, after only six years as Hon'inbo, Chihaku suddenly collapsed and died, the probable cause of death being cerebral apoplexy. This caused a major crisis in the go world, for he had not yet named an heir. Without a recognised heir the future of the Hon'inbo school was in danger, and this posed a threat to the whole go establishment, so the three surviving go heads put aside their differences and rushed to the Hon'inbo residence for an emergency meeting.

It was decided straight away that a Hon'inbo heir must be found at all costs. The choice was not difficult - among the Hon'inbo pupils, the only conceivable candidate was a seventeen-year-old 5 dan named Sato Shuhaku. The difficulty lay in getting the authorities to agree to Shuhaku's becoming Hon'inbo, since only Chihaku had had the right to name his successor. In this desperate situation, the go heads resorted to deception. A document, supposedly written by Chihaku just before his death, was forged, which was an application to the jisha-bugyo to have Shuhaku recognised as Hon'inbo heir.

When this document was presented to the jisha-bugyo he was suspicious right away, but could not quite put his finger on what was wrong. Luckily for the go world he jumped to the wrong conclusion, suspecting foul play in the matter of Chihaku's death. He ordered a thorough investigation, but could find nothing amiss. Shuhaku was the only person who stood to gain by Chihaku's death, and he had a perfect alibi - throughout the whole affair he had been visiting his parents in the far north of Japan, and was still there, wholly unaware of what had happened. Finally the jisha-bugyo gave in, recognised Shuhaku as Hon'inbo - and the go world heaved a collective sigh of relief. A messenger was sent to tell Shuhaku to return to Edo at once, where he was officially notified of his appointment. Disaster had been averted.

## **CHAPTER 9. Incho Monnyu**

The senior figure in the go world of the 1730's was the fifth Hayashi head, Incho Monnyu, who became 8 dan in 1735. He outranked the other go heads, and was also considerably older than they were, and inevitably began to dream of becoming Meijin godokoro. However, first he had to fend off a challenge to the go world's prestige.

Shogi (Japanese chess) had a very similar organisational structure to go, although there were only three shogi schools to go's four. However, shogi had less prestige than go, and received less government money. Needless to say, the shogi players were dissatisfied with this state of affairs, and in 1737 there was an attempt to redress the balance.

The prime mover behind this attempt was Ito Soka, who for the past nine years had been shogi Meijin and shogidokoro. Soka was one of the greatest shogi players ever - he has been described as shogi's Dosaku - and under his leadership shogi prospered as never before, while the go world languished in a state of stagnation.

Among those who received government funds, the actual order of precedence was, first, the godokoro, or the Hon'inbo if there was no godokoro; second, the shogidokoro; then the other go heads, then the other shogi heads, then the heirs to the go schools, and finally the heirs to the shogi schools. This meant that Soka was paid less than Shuhaku (though more than Incho), even though Shuhaku was only 6 dan. Soka made a proposal that, in future, precedence should be determined solely by dan rank, go and shogi ranks being considered equivalent for this purpose - this would put Soka on top of the heap.

Shogi, like go, came under the jurisdiction of the jisha-bugyo commissioners. It will be remembered that there were three or four of these, who took turns to serve a month at a time. As luck would have it, two of the commissioners were keen shogi players and pupils of Soka, one of them holding the rank of 5 dan, and Soka took care to present his petition while this commissioner was in office.

The go heads were horrified by this development. They considered go to be naturally superior to shogi, arguing from go history; had not Hon'inbo Sansa, the founder of the Hon'inbo school, been both godokoro and shogidokoro, and had he not given up the post of shogidokoro for the sake of go? (Actually, Sansa is believed to have resigned as shogidokoro because he realised he was being overtaken in strength by his nearest shogi-playing rival.)

The go heads, led by Incho and Shuhaku, lost no time in presenting a counter-petition of their own. In it, they argued that since the dan ranks of the top go and shogi players naturally would vary from one generation to the next, it would not be appropriate to base the order of precedence on this. Better, the go heads concluded, to leave things as they were. This rather feeble argument would probably not have cut much ice with the shogi-playing commissioner, but he was never to make a decision on the matter, for he had fallen ill, and before long he was dead. His place as commissioner was taken by an ultra-conservative official who promptly decided that things should stay as they were, much to Soka's annoyance and the go heads' delight.

With Soka thus satisfactorily disposed of, Incho was able to concentrate on becoming Meijin godokoro. At this time the Hayashi school was closely allied to the Inoues, so Incho had no trouble persuading Inoue Shunseki Inseki to support him, but the Hon'inbo and Yasui heads refused to back his application, and without their support Incho's hopes were dashed.

Shortly afterwards, however, Incho got his own back by refusing to support Shuhaku's application for promotion to 7 dan. As Incho was well aware, Shuhaku was very keen to get this promotion since his predecessor Chihaku had been only 6 dan when he died, and Shuhaku wanted to make sure that the Hon'inbo school did not stop on 6 dan for two generations in a row. Shuhaku promptly challenged Incho to a sogo to decide the issue. Incho declined, pleading illness, but Inoue Shunseki Inseki agreed to play in his place.

The match began in the Tenth Month of 1737, and was supposed to be played at the rate of twenty games a year. As with previous matches, the pace was much slower than this - after two and a half years only eight games had been played. Shuhaku was 4-3 up with one jigo when he suffered a stomach haemorrhage in the Fifth Month of 1740. As the result of an appeal by the fifth Yasui, Shuntetsu Senkaku, the match was suspended pending Shuhaku's recovery.

Unfortunately, Shuhaku never recovered, and he died early in 1741, after nominating Ozaki Hakugen, 6 dan, as his successor. The following year Incho made another attempt to become Meijin godokoro, hoping that the new Hon'inbo would be more accommodating. He was wrong - both Hakugen and Shuntetsu Senkaku filed an immediate objection, on the grounds that Incho was unwilling to play in a sogo to prove his fitness for the post. Since the jisha-bugyo agreed with this argument, Incho had to abandon his hopes of promotion - in fact, no Hayashi head ever achieved the rank of Meijin godokoro. Incho Monnyu died in 1745.

## CHAPTER 10. Satsugen

In 1754 Hon'inbo Hakugen, still 6 dan, died and was succeeded by a man who would shake the go world out of its comfortable lethargy and bring back the Hon'inbo school's glory days. Satsugen, the ninth Hon'inbo, was driven throughout his career by wild ambition and the urge to wipe out the shame of three successive Hon'inbos all dying at 6 dan. From the moment he became Hon'inbo he was determined to become Meijin godokoro as soon as possible. Since Satsugen was only twenty-one (and only 6 dan) when he became Hon'inbo, whereas the other go heads were in their forties, this was the height of presumption, but Satsugen did not suffer unduly from modesty.

At this time the strongest player in Japan was the sixth Inoue, Shunseki Inseki, who was 7 dan. When Satsugen applied for promotion to 7 dan in 1756, Shunseki's approval was necessary, but he dragged his feet over the matter, wishing to maintain his pre-eminence. However, since he felt unable to actually oppose Satsugen's promotion, he finally capitulated and Satsugen became 7 dan the following year, ending the Hon'inbo school's thirty-year slump.

In 1764 Shunseki applied for promotion to 8 dan, and Satsugen, who had been waiting for this, instantly did likewise. Shunseki had no desire to allow Satsugen to become 8 dan with him, and again tried to block his promotion, but to no avail - there was no reason to deny Satsugen promotion, and with Shunseki's own promotion under consideration at the same time, he was perhaps in no position to argue very strenuously. Consequently, both players became 8 dan, and the stage was set for Satsugen's final push.

In 1766 Satsugen submitted an application for promotion to Meijin godokoro, fully expecting Shunseki to object. He was not disappointed - not only did Shunseki object, but the Yasui head, Shuntetsu Senkaku, who had until then been a Hon'inbo ally, became so disgusted with Satsugen's premature ambition that he went over to the Inoue side. However, Satsugen did get the approval of the Hayashi head, Yugen Monnyu, rather surprisingly, since the Hayashis had hitherto been Inoue allies.

Satsugen, as has been said, had expected this opposition, and appealed directly to the jisha-bugyo for permission to challenge Shunseki to a sogo, the winner of which would become Meijin. The jisha-bugyo approved this petition and directed Satsugen and Shunseki to play a twenty-game match.

After the first game, which was the traditional prearranged jigo, the match began in earnest, but proved to be embarrassingly one-sided - Satsugen won the next five games, and applied to the jisha-bugyo for a change in the handicap. Shunseki objected, saying Satsugen needed a six-game lead - Satsugen, citing a different precedent, said that four games were sufficient - whereupon Shunseki asked why, if he believed that, he had not made his application after his fourth win. Despite Shunseki's poor showing in the match, he was determined to the very end to do all he could to stand in Satsugen's way.

The match was suspended while this squabble continued, and eventually Satsugen's patience ran out and he submitted another application to the jisha-bugyo for promotion to Meijin. Given Satsugen's clear superiority at the go board, the jisha-bugyo finally disregarded Shunseki's objections and promoted Satsugen to Meijin in 1767.

However, perhaps out of sympathy for Shunseki, who had after all been the senior figure in the go world for two decades, and distaste for Satsugen's blatant ambition, the jisha-bugyo rejected Satsugen's concurrent application to become godokoro. This was only the second (and last) time in Edo period go history that the two posts had been separated, and needless to say Satsugen was not prepared to accept this lying down. Over the next three years he presented the commissioners with at least ten applications for godokoro, each of which met with an objection from Shunseki. Finally, in 1770, the commissioners opted for a quiet life and gave Satsugen his appointment, at the same time granting his request to have his pupil, Yamamoto Retsugen, recognised as the Hon'inbo heir.

Satsugen had achieved everything he had set out to achieve sixteen years earlier, and more, for in the process he galvanised the go world out of its stagnation. His sogo with Shunseki revived the spirit of rivalry between the go schools that had been absent since the days of Hon'inbo Dochi's childhood, and this had the effect of reviving interest in go among the general public. In particular he restored the competitive nature of the annual castle games, which had been allowed to degenerate into an insipid formality. As a result, the shogun ordered more castle games to be played, and temporarily relaxed the rules regarding who could take part. In fact nearly a quarter of all the castle games ever played date from Satsugen's time as Hon'inbo.

Upon Satsugen's appointment as godokoro, he went on a pilgrimage to Kyoto to report on his successes at the grave of the first Hon'inbo, Sansa. A more modest man might have gone unobtrusively with only a small party of pupils - but Satsugen was not that sort of person. Instead he blew half the Hon'inbo fortune on a grand procession from Edo to Kyoto, with all his pupils and retainers, and heralds announcing his presence, for all the world as if he were the shogun himself. But perhaps, in view of what he did for Japanese go, he can be excused a bit, or even a lot, of extravagance.

## CHAPTER 11. The Great Senchi

Satsugen died in 1788, and Retsugen became the tenth Hon'inbo. Retsugen's two main claims to fame were, first, as a result of the castle game boom initiated by his predecessor, he was able to play more castle games than anyone before or after him (forty-six), and secondly, he arranged for the Hon'inbo heir to take precedence over the heirs of the other go heads, and therefore receive more money. Retsugen was a great player in his own right, reaching 8 dan in 1801, but he was overshadowed by a player who was over a century ahead of his time - the seventh Yasui, Senchi Senkaku, who became known as *O-Senchi* (the Great Senchi).

O-Senchi was a modern player in the classical period. In those days, it was normal to emphasise the third line in the fuseki and play a territory-oriented game, but O-Senchi played on the fourth and fifth lines and emphasised the centre. Nothing like it had ever been seen before; nor was anything like it seen again until the 1930's, when Go Seigen and Kitani Minoru developed what became known as New Fuseki, although they were well aware that O-Senchi had anticipated them. (Kitani regularly used to pay his respects at O-Senchi's grave.)

O-Senchi was the son of Sakaguchi Sentoku, who was himself a prominent go player. Sakaguchi had been a pupil of Yasui Shuntetsu Senkaku, and had founded his own Sakaguchi school, one of three minor go schools that arose during the Edo period. (The others were the Hattori and Mizutani schools.) The Sakaguchis were closely allied with the Yasui school, so when the young Senchi showed signs of exceptional go talent he was taken into the Yasui school, where he could receive a better training than the Sakaguchi school could give him, and he soon became the heir to the sixth Yasui, Sentetsu. This shows how confident Sentetsu was that the Yasuis had a genius on their hands, for O-Senchi was at that time far from strong by professional standards - he was still only 2 dan when he succeeded as Yasui head in 1780, a ludicrously low rank for the head of a major go school. Fortunately, Sentetsu's judgement had not been awry, and it did not take O-Senchi long to improve dramatically.

By 1801 he was 8 dan, gaining this promotion at the same time as Hon'inbo Retsugen. Of the two, there seems little doubt that O-Senchi was the stronger. Poor Retsugen found O-Senchi's centre-oriented style of play almost impossible to handle - he won only two of the fifteen games they played. There is some poetic justice in this - a century earlier, Hon'inbo Dosaku had regularly trounced the hapless Yasuis with his fuseki insights, and now the Yasui head was treating the Hon'inbo school in the same casual manner with his own fuseki innovations.

Given these results, O-Senchi could presumably have become Meijin, but he was not an ambitious man and seems to have been happy to remain 8 dan. In 1814 he resigned from the Yasui school altogether, handing it over to his heir, Chitoku Senchi, and returned to the Sakaguchi school to become its head. There, he devoted the rest of his days to training a young player (who may have been his son) who became the Sakaguchi heir, taking the name Sakaguchi Sentoku (the same name as O-Senchi's father) and eventually becoming one of the greatest players of the mid-nineteenth century. O-Senchi died in 1837.

## CHAPTER 12. Genjo and Chitoku

The two most famous rivals of the Edo period were, without a doubt, the eleventh Hon'inbo, Genjo, and the eighth Yasui, Senchi (more commonly known by his original given name, Chitoku). Genjo became the heir to Hon'inbo Retsugen in 1798 and succeeded as Hon'inbo head in 1809; Chitoku became the heir to O-Senchi in 1800 and succeeded as Yasui head in 1814.

Genjo and Chitoku were perfectly matched in a number of ways. They were almost the same age, having been born in 1775 and 1776 respectively; their styles were very different, with Genjo favouring thickness and Chitoku territory, so both could play to their own strengths against each other; and in

ability there was nothing to choose between them at all - of the 77 recorded games they played, Chitoku won 38, Genjo 33, and there were four jigo. (The remaining two games were unfinished.) This might make Chitoku seem slightly the stronger of the two, but he played black seven times more than Genjo. In no-komi go this makes enough difference to make it impossible to tell who was the stronger.

Genjo and Chitoku were also close friends, rather surprisingly considering their professional rivalry and the fact that they were the heads of two go schools which had been bitter enemies for much of the past two centuries. Both of them were simultaneously promoted to 7 dan in 1804 and to 8 dan in 1814 (this latter promotion coming on the occasion of Chitoku's accession to the Yasui headship).

Although both Genjo and Chitoku reached Meijin strength, neither would even consider applying to become Meijin out of respect for the other (there could, of course, be only one Meijin at a time). Both players also disapproved of people actively seeking to be Meijin, which they considered to be presumptuous. They believed that if a player was good enough to be Meijin he would receive the appointment as a matter of course without having to lobby for it. This high-minded attitude was far from being the norm among Edo period go players! Indeed, given the rivalry between the go schools during the Edo period, it is doubtful if many of the players who became Meijin during this period would have got beyond 8 dan if they had had to wait to gain the title by acclamation without pressing their own claims. Instead, only four 8 dans during the whole of the two and a half centuries of the Edo period are considered to have reached Meijin strength without getting promoted to Meijin. These were the "four sages", of which Genjo and Chitoku were the first two. (The other two were Inoue Gen'an Inseki and Hon'inbo Shuwa, both of whom will be mentioned later.)

There is little more that can be said about Genjo and Chitoku, for friendship and mutual respect do not make good history. However, the next generation of go players made up for this in abundance.

Genjo retired in 1827 and died in 1832. Chitoku remained head of the Yasui school until his death in 1838. He is considered to have been the strongest player ever produced by the Yasui school.

### CHAPTER 13. Jowa and Gen'an Inseki

The late 1820's and the 1830's were notable for a bitter and protracted struggle between the Hon'inbo and Inoue schools. The two protagonists were the twelfth Hon'inbo, Jowa, who succeeded Genjo in 1827, and the eleventh Inoue, Gen'an Inseki, who had become Inoue head three years previously.

Both Jowa and Gen'an were driven by the desire to become Meijin godokoro, but Jowa had a head start, gaining promotion to 8 dan in 1828 while Gen'an was still only 7 dan. Gen'an realised that he would have to gain promotion fast if he was to have any chance of stopping Jowa, and he hit on the idea of tricking Jowa into helping him. He sent his ally Hattori Inshuku, the head of the minor Hattori school, with a message to Jowa, explaining that if Jowa applied to become Meijin, Yasui Chitoku Senchi would surely oppose him. (This was true enough - as has been mentioned earlier, Chitoku took a dim view of people actively competing for promotion to Meijin.) Gen'an offered to support Jowa against Chitoku's objection, but pointed out that his support would count for much more if he were 8 dan, and so asked if Jowa would support his promotion.

Jowa was well aware of what Gen'an was up to, having bribed an Inoue pupil in return for inside information, but pretended to agree to his suggestion, and Gen'an next approached Chitoku to get his approval. Chitoku turned Gen'an down flat, on the grounds that he had not been 7 dan for very long, whereupon Gen'an challenged him to a sogo. However, Chitoku was disgusted by Gen'an's deviousness - like Jowa, he was well aware of Gen'an's true motives - and refused to play him.

Nothing daunted, Gen'an decided to put in his application anyway, thinking he had Jowa's support at least, but Jowa promptly withdrew his support, thus ensuring Gen'an's application would fail. Jowa was by now beginning to feel that he had better make his own move for promotion to Meijin, and so made overtures to the Hayashi head, Genbi Monnyu, promising to promote him to 8 dan if he became Meijin godokoro with Genbi's help. Genbi readily agreed to this, and Jowa next approached Chitoku.

Inevitably, Chitoku refused to support Jowa's application, and Gen'an saw his chance. He pointed out to Chitoku that the only way to stop Jowa was for another 8 dan to defeat him in a sogo - but the only other active 8 dan was Chitoku himself. Chitoku was now fifty-two and did not feel at all confident of beating the forty-one-year-old Jowa, who was at his peak as a go player, but Gen'an offered to challenge Jowa himself, if he were to be promoted to 8 dan. Consequently Chitoku gave in

and agreed to support Gen'an's promotion, which was enough to secure it despite Jowa's objection. Some idea of the speed and urgency with which Gen'an had pushed for promotion can be gained from the fact that Gen'an's promotion to 8 dan came only a month after Jowa's.

Shortly afterwards, the go heads met to discuss Jowa's application for Meijin, and Chitoku commented that he considered Jowa's application to be premature, given that he had only just reached 8 dan. As agreed previously, he suggested that Gen'an should challenge Jowa to a sogo - but Gen'an refused. He had intended to refuse all along; he was not yet ready to challenge Jowa for Meijin, and he was in fact leading Chitoku into a carefully prepared trap.

The trap was sprung by Hattori Inshuku, who suggested that Chitoku should play Jowa instead. Chitoku was so incensed at being double-crossed by Gen'an that he declared that he, at least, would not flinch from such a match, and so a sogo was arranged between Chitoku and Jowa. This was exactly what Gen'an had hoped for; Jowa would now have to play a match, which could last several years, before he could apply again to become Meijin. In the meantime Gen'an had a breathing space in which to prepare to challenge the winner.

Here matters rested for a year, since for some unknown reason the jisha-bugyo would not fix a date for the Chitoku-Jowa match to begin. Meanwhile Jowa pretended to bury the hatchet with Gen'an, saying that if Gen'an withdrew his objection to Jowa's becoming Meijin godokoro, he would cede both titles to Gen'an after six years. Gen'an was taken in completely by this, and made the fatal mistake of sending Jowa a letter confirming that he would support Jowa's promotion. By the time Gen'an realised that he had been tricked, Jowa had given this letter to the jisha-bugyo.

Gen'an raised a furious objection, and the jisha-bugyo asked Chitoku to mediate. Chitoku, doubtless enjoying the opportunity to get his own back on Gen'an, decided that Gen'an should play a sogo against Jowa. Jowa was now faced with the prospect of having to play two separate matches, but neither match was destined to take place - Jowa had other plans.

## CHAPTER 14. Jowa's Downfall

Jowa proved he could be just as devious as Gen'an when early in 1831 the jisha-bugyo stunned the go world by promoting Jowa to Meijin godokoro without requiring him to play either match. What had happened was that Jowa had enlisted Hayashi Genbi to work behind the scenes on his behalf. Genbi had close relations with a major branch of the shogun's family (the Tokugawas), and had been pressing Jowa's case at every opportunity. Eventually a member of this particular branch of the Tokugawa family became a jisha-bugyo commissioner, and Genbi promptly petitioned him on Jowa's behalf. Thanks to Genbi's previous softening-up work the petition was successful, and so Jowa became the last Meijin godokoro of the Edo period without a stone being played.

Both Gen'an and Chitoku were horrified by Jowa's promotion, and wasted no time in protesting to the jisha-bugyo. Over the next four years they lodged frequent protests, but they were all in vain.

Gen'an decided to try a different approach. He, like Genbi, had friends in high places, one of whom was Lord Matsudaira, a close adviser to the shogun. At Gen'an's request, Matsudaira held a go party at his house in 1835, to which all the top players of the day, including Jowa, were invited. Gen'an planned to challenge Jowa to a game there, but decided at the last minute to substitute a brilliant pupil of his, Akaboshi Intetsu, 7 dan. Gen'an considered Akaboshi to be a potential future Meijin, and had great hopes of his beating Jowa, in which case Gen'an intended to object that nobody who lost to a 7 dan had the right to be Meijin.

Jowa, as godokoro, was not supposed to take part in competitive go, but he could hardly refuse a request from Lord Matsudaira, and so the game began. At first things went as Gen'an had hoped, for Jowa overplayed in the fuseki, and Akaboshi played a new variation of the taisha joseki which the Inoue school had secretly developed for just this purpose. Jowa failed to find the correct response and as a result fell a long way behind.

What happened next was one of the greatest comebacks in go history. Jowa fought back fiercely, finding three brilliant tesujis in the middle game, and slowly ground Akaboshi's lead down. As the game continued for day after day (it lasted eight days all told) Akaboshi fell behind, and his health began to deteriorate. When Akaboshi finally resigned, he collapsed at the board vomiting blood; he was suffering from tuberculosis, and was dead within a month. Gen'an's plan had been a total failure - Jowa's position seemed more secure than ever.



But Jowa's downfall was not far off. It will be recalled that when Jowa had asked Hayashi Genbi for his help in getting to Meijin, he had offered Genbi a promotion to 8 dan in return. Inexplicably, Jowa failed to keep his promise, and so turned his greatest ally, and the man who knew most about his double-dealing, against him. In 1838 Genbi, tired of waiting, revealed all the unsavoury details of Jowa's intrigues and challenged him to a twenty-game match. Coming on top of all the other protests that Gen'an and Chitoku had made, this caused the jisha-bugyo to conduct an investigation, and as a result Jowa was forced to resign as Meijin godokoro in 1839. At the same time he ceded the headship of the Hon'inbo school to his heir, Josaku (the brother of Hayashi Genbi - they were both sons of Hon'inbo Genjo), and went into retirement, dying in 1847. At the time, the reasons for his retirement were hushed up, and he was considered a Go Saint like Dosaku, but eventually the truth came out and his reputation was permanently damaged. Nevertheless, he is still remembered as one of the strongest Meijins ever.

## CHAPTER 15. Shuwa

With Jowa out of the way, Gen'an was finally able to apply for promotion to Meijin godokoro, which he did in 1839, only a month after Jowa's retirement. Out of loyalty to his teacher, Hon'inbo Josaku objected to the jisha-bugyo, who replied that Gen'an would get his promotion unless someone were to challenge him to a sogo and beat him.

Josaku had no intention of challenging Gen'an - he was not in Gen'an's class as a go player and he knew it. However, his heir, Shuwa, was already 7 dan and still improving. Josaku was confident that Shuwa could defeat Gen'an, and so a match was arranged between Gen'an and Shuwa.

The first game of the match was played over a period of eight days starting in the Eleventh Month of 1840 and going on into the Twelfth Month. Gen'an, being 8 dan, took white. Shuwa defeated him by four points, and although this may not seem like a large margin, especially in a no-komi game, it was enough for Gen'an. Shuwa had dominated the game from start to finish, giving Gen'an no chances at all, and Gen'an was so dispirited by the level of skill Shuwa had shown that he conceded the match then and there, and withdrew his application for Meijin godokoro.

This is not to say that Gen'an gave up all hope of promotion, but he knew that he would have to beat Shuwa first, and this proved to be beyond his powers. At one time he would have resorted to the sort of underhand manoeuvres he and Jowa had used against each other, but Gen'an had matured somewhat (perhaps chastened by Jowa's fate) and now restricted his campaign to the go board. In the Fifth Month of 1842 he challenged Shuwa to another match, an unofficial one this time, but again Shuwa won the first game, this time by six points, and again Gen'an felt unable to continue. After Shuwa beat Gen'an yet again in the 1842 castle games, Gen'an finally abandoned hope of ever becoming Meijin, and made his peace with the Hon'inbo school - so much so that he adopted Jowa's eldest son, who had been made the heir of the minor Mizutani school, as the Inoue heir. It was Jowa who provided Gen'an with an appropriate epitaph - commenting on the second game against Shuwa, he said "Gen'an is strong enough to be Meijin. It is a pity that he was born at the wrong time."

While still only 7 dan, Shuwa found himself on top of the go world. The only players who came near to him were the so-called "Tenpo Four Best". (Tenpo was the name of the era from 1830 to 1844.) These four were, Yasui Chitoku's son Sanchi, who succeeded him in 1838; a Hon'inbo pupil named Ito Showa; a Yasui pupil, Ota Yuzo; and Sakaguchi Sentoku, O-Senchi's successor as head of the minor Sakaguchi school. At their peak, these four were able to play Shuwa on even terms, but Shuwa was eventually to beat them all down to the handicap of *josen*. It was not until Shuwa's heir Shusaku reached his peak that anyone was able to extend Shuwa fully. Shusaku entered the Hon'inbo school in 1837, and was soon recognised as the greatest prodigy since Dosaku. His career will be covered in more detail later.

Jowa and Josaku died in quick succession in 1847, and Shuwa became the fourteenth Hon'inbo. By now he was 8 dan, and beginning to aspire to the post of Meijin godokoro, but he never achieved this ambition, being thwarted by a player who came to prominence in a decidedly unusual fashion.

As has been mentioned, Inoue Gen'an Inseki had adopted Jowa's eldest son, Kadono Chuzaemon, as the Inoue heir. This son became the twelfth Inoue head, Setsuzan Inseki, upon Gen'an's retirement in 1848. Setsuzan, however, seems to have been a schizophrenic, and in a fit of irrational jealousy in 1850 he murdered an Inoue pupil whom he suspected of having an affair with his wife. Since the victim's family were on close terms with the Inoue school, they did not go to the authorities, as this would

certainly have resulted in the school's closure, but Setsuzan was forced to retire and sent into internal exile in the country, where he died six years later. He had not named an heir, and since there were no obvious candidates among the surviving Inoue pupils it was arranged for a Hayashi pupil named Matsumoto to succeed him.

As the head of a go school, Matsumoto became eligible to play in the castle games, and in 1859 Shuwa was drawn against him. Matsumoto was only 6 dan, whereas Shuwa had submitted an application for promotion to Meijin, so the result of the game should have been a foregone conclusion. However, Shuwa was overconfident, and let Matsumoto take the lead. Shuwa was still sure he could catch up - he knew his yose was superior - but Matsumoto surpassed himself, producing his lifetime masterpiece in fending off an increasingly desperate Shuwa to win by one point. Losing to a 6 dan killed off any hopes Shuwa had of gaining promotion to Meijin. Matsumoto's play was so far above his normal level that it was said in go circles that he must have been possessed by the spirit of Gen'an, who had died that year, getting his own back on Shuwa for denying him promotion to Meijin in 1840.

## CHAPTER 16. Shusaku

Only two players in go history have been accorded the title of *Kisei* or Go Saint (before, that is, it became the name of the modern annual tournament). Dosaku was one; Shusaku, Shuwa's heir, was the other.

Shusaku's genius was recognised from the moment he became a Hon'inbo pupil in 1837 - Jowa (who was regarded as a Kisei himself until his reputation was sullied), upon seeing the young Shusaku's play, said "This is the greatest go talent for a hundred and fifty years. Hereafter my school will surely prosper."

In 1846 Shusaku served notice of what was to come when he visited Osaka and met Gen'an Inseki, who was by coincidence travelling in the same area. At this time Shusaku was 4 dan and Gen'an 8 dan, so when Gen'an agreed to play him it was a considerable honour.

Shusaku took two stones, but after 102 moves Gen'an stopped the game and suggested Shusaku simply take black, since two stones was clearly the wrong handicap. They started again, with Shusaku taking black, and this time Gen'an got off to a better start. He played a new variation of the taisha joseki, which Shusaku misplayed, giving Gen'an the advantage. At the end of the first day's play Gen'an was clearly ahead, to nobody's surprise considering the difference in rank and experience.

On the second day, however, Shusaku played the most famous move in go history, the "ear-reddening move", so called because it took Gen'an completely by surprise, causing his ears to flush red. This move reversed the flow of the game, and from then on Shusaku gradually took control. He eventually won by three points, and as if to show that this was no fluke, he went on to beat Gen'an twice more. Gen'an later commented that Shusaku was at this time already 7 dan in strength.

On returning to Edo, Shusaku was asked to become Shuwa's heir, but Shusaku declined, making him the only person ever to refuse this honour. The reason was that Shusaku felt a keen sense of obligation towards his parents, who lived on an island in the Inland Sea, and towards the local daimyo (feudal lord), who had sent Shusaku to study at the Hon'inbo school on the understanding that he would eventually return to become the go instructor to the daimyo's family. Shusaku only became Shuwa's heir after much string-pulling behind the scenes by the Hon'inbo school to release him from this obligation.

In 1849 Shusaku played the first of his nineteen castle games (against Yasui Sanchi). His castle game record is another reason for Shusaku's fame, for he won all nineteen of them - no other player, not even Dosaku, can match this achievement (see [APPENDIX E](#)).

During the 1850's, Shusaku swept all before him. Apart from Shuwa, who was Shusaku's teacher rather than a rival, the only player who could hold his own against Shusaku was Ota Yuzo, one of the Tenpo Four Best. Had Yuzo played in the castle games he might have spoiled Shusaku's perfect record, and as a 7 dan he was eligible to play, but since a precondition for playing in the castle games was that one shave one's head and adopt the garb of a Buddhist monk, Yuzo, who was a vain man, declined the opportunity, even though it meant turning down an official salary.

Shusaku had experienced great difficulty in reaching even handicap in his games against Yuzo, despite the fact that Shuwa found him relatively easy to beat. (Shuwa's toughest opponent, other than Shusaku, was Yasui Sanchi.) Even after Shusaku finally reached even handicap in 1849, Yuzo beat

Shusaku as often as he lost to him. Finally, in 1853, Shusaku and Yuzo played a thirty-game friendly match, starting on *tagaisen* (level terms). It is a tribute to Yuzo's skill that it took Shusaku seventeen games to force a change in the handicap. When Yuzo managed a jigo with white in the twenty-third game, he was content to concede the match on this relatively high note. Shusaku had won thirteen games to Yuzo's seven, with three jigo.

Shusaku also played many games against Shuwa, but always took black. This was not because he was unable to force a change in the handicap, but because he refused to do so out of respect for his teacher. Not even Shuwa himself could budge Shusaku on this point - Shusaku was a surprisingly modest man, despite his ability. In 1846-7 they played a series of seventeen games, which Shusaku won 13-4; but with Shusaku playing on *josen* throughout Shuwa did well to win as many as four games. It is a great pity that they never played on level terms.

With black, Shusaku was virtually unbeatable. Part of his success was due to the famous "Shusaku fuseki" which he developed in the early 1840's (he didn't actually invent the pattern, but he was the first to use it at all regularly), which has remained popular to this day, though it had to be modified somewhat when komi was introduced. His games, especially his games with black, are considered required study by modern professionals, and indeed the first task assigned to student professionals is usually to play through his complete games.

By the end of the 1850's Shusaku had run out of serious opponents and was spending much of his time training the next generation of Hon'inbo pupils, including Shuwa's three sons, Shuetsu, Shuei and Shugen. However, the star pupil was Murase Shuho, the son of an impoverished carpenter who happened to live next door to the Hon'inbo residence. Shuho was the strongest Hon'inbo pupil after Shusaku himself and was being groomed as Shusaku's successor. In 1861 Shusaku played a ten-game match with Shuho, with Shuho taking black in every game, and Shuho won 6-3 with one jigo.

Then, in 1862, Edo was struck by an epidemic of cholera. Several Hon'inbo pupils caught the disease, and Shusaku insisted on nursing them back to health (cholera was unknown to the Japanese at this time, having only recently been introduced to the country, and the epidemic was mistaken for measles), with the result that he caught the disease himself and died in the Eighth Month of 1862, and the Hon'inbo school was deprived not only of its heir but of one of the two greatest players in its history.

## CHAPTER 17. The End of Edo Go

Shuwa was heartbroken at Shusaku's death, but his main concern had now to be choosing a new heir. Shuho was the obvious choice, but when Shuwa suggested making Shuho his heir, Jowa's widow, who seems to have had immense influence in the Hon'inbo school, refused to allow it. Shusaku had married her daughter, and she felt that to allow Shuho, who was unrelated to any of the senior Hon'inbo players, to succeed would sully Shusaku's memory.

This argument forced Shuwa to select his eldest son, Tsuchiya Shuetsu, a thirteen year old 3 dan, as his heir. Shuho was promoted to 7 dan as a consolation, but he harboured a grudge against the Hon'inbo school thereafter. It happened that in the same year the Hayashi heir, Yubi, also died (of syphilis), and with no other likely candidates in the Hayashi school Shuwa offered them his second son, Tsuchiya Shuei. Shuwa was willing to give Shuei to the Hayashis because he had shown little promise as a player. (Ironically, in later life Shuei improved dramatically and eventually he became Meijin.) Two years after becoming heir, he succeeded as Hayashi head (and broke with tradition by declining to take the name Monnyu).

1863 saw the first signs of real change in the go world, for in that year the annual castle game ceremony was cancelled, although the actual games had already been played. This had also happened in 1862, but that was because of a fire at Edo Castle; this time the shogun was simply too preoccupied with his government's troubles to take time off to watch some games of go. Since Commodore Perry's fleet of American warships had appeared off the Japanese coast in 1853, people in Japan had become aware that technologically they had fallen far behind the Western powers, and the ultra-conservative Tokugawa government had its hands full resisting the pressure for radical change. After 1863 there were no castle games at all, and go was clearly in decline. The go schools still received government money, but without the castle games their prestige was badly dented.

For the Tokugawa government, and the Edo period, the end came in 1868 when the last shogun was forced to resign and a new government was put in place under the newly-crowned Emperor Meiji. The people behind the coup were determined that Japan should catch up with the West, and in the headlong rush towards all things Western that followed, anything traditional, such as go, was virtually abandoned. The go schools lost their government stipends, the post of godokoro was formally abolished, and the story of Edo period go was over.

For the go schools, the loss of their funding was as if the carpet had been pulled out from under them. The only way they could survive was by charging tuition fees, but in the new climate hardly anybody wanted to learn, and it was as much as the go heads could do to keep the schools going. It was clearly not helpful that the four schools were all based in Edo (or Tokyo as it was renamed), and Inoue Matsumoto Inseki finally took the plunge and moved the Inoue school to Osaka.

Many players gave up professional go altogether, most notably Shuho, who spent the next decade travelling around the country, only playing occasionally when he passed through Tokyo. Those who remained had to find additional sources of income - Shuwa was forced to convert the Hon'inbo residence into houses for rent. Worse still, in 1870 one of these houses burnt down, and the fire spread to dozens of other houses. Shuwa had to take responsibility, and it ruined him. His health deteriorated and he finally died in poverty in 1873. He lived to see the virtual death of Japanese go, to which he had devoted his whole life, but did not survive to see its rebirth.

For the next six bleak years, Shuetsu (by now 6 dan) kept the Hon'inbo school afloat, but the strain proved too much for him, and he became mentally unbalanced. Finally, in 1879, he was forced to retire, and his brother, Shuwa's third son Tsuchiya Shugen, who was a mere 3 dan, became the sixteenth Hon'inbo. It was all a far cry from the great days of only two decades previously, but in fact that very year 1879 saw the first signs of recovery.

## CHAPTER 18. Hon'inbo versus Hoensha

By 1879 Japan's modernisation had gone far enough for the government to feel more secure in a world dominated by Western countries keen to add to their empires. The novelty value of Western culture was also beginning to wear off, and traditional activities such as go made a gradual comeback. A group of top players formed a national go association called the *Hoensha* in that year, and invited Shuho to come out of retirement and be its first president, which he did. Shuho's strength had not deteriorated during his decade of inactivity, and he soon established himself as the top player of the day.

The Hoensha published the first go magazine, *Igo Shimpō*, and generally did much to modernise go and re-establish its popularity. However, it did not issue dan diplomas - this remained the prerogative of the go schools. Instead, it introduced a new grading system for its members consisting entirely of kyu grades - thus, Meijin became 1 kyu, 8 dan became 2 kyu, and so on down to 9 kyu (1 dan) and extending further down to 12 kyu. Under Shuho, a man of working-class origins himself, the Hoensha actively encouraged the "man in the street" to play go - it had previously been regarded as rather an upper-class game. Shuho was also the first player to attempt to teach go to Westerners, of whom the most well-known was Oskar Korschelt, a German engineer who was the first Westerner to achieve more than the most rudimentary knowledge of go. Korschelt reached the amateur 1-dan level (though gradings for amateurs had yet to be devised).

The Hon'inbo school revived with the increase in popular interest, and became the Hoensha's main rival. However, since the Hon'inbo school took no part in encouraging the spread of go among the general public and in any case its head, Shugen, was only 4 dan, it was eclipsed by the Hoensha as the main force in Japanese go, although its history still gave it the greater prestige.

The other three go schools were less successful in the new circumstances. In 1884 Hon'inbo Shugen nominated his brother Hayashi Shuei as the Hon'inbo heir. In the old days it would have been unthinkable for one go head to name another as his heir, but the Hayashi school, always the weakest of the four, was by now virtually dead - most of its pupils had given up go or joined the Hoensha - and it made sense for a merger to take place. Shugen resigned in favour of Shuei, and the Hon'inbo and Hayashi schools were united under the Hon'inbo name. The last Yasui, Sanchi's son San'ei, dissolved the Yasui school and joined the Hoensha. He died in 1903. In Osaka the Inoue school, insulated to some

extent from the Hoensha's competition, struggled on for the time being, but its days were clearly numbered.

Shuei was unhappy as Hon'inbo - he was a man of high principles, and he felt that Shuho was the rightful Hon'inbo, being the strongest player as well as Shuwa's original choice after the death of Shusaku. He also disliked the bad feeling that had developed between the Hon'inbo school and the Hoensha, so in 1886 he effected a reconciliation with Shuho. Shuho rejoined the Hon'inbo school (while remaining president of the Hoensha), whereupon Shuei promoted him to 8 dan, named him as heir, then resigned in his favour. Shuho then returned the compliment by promoting Shuei to 7 dan.

As part of the deal the Hoensha was allowed to issue dan diplomas, subject to ratification by the Hon'inbo school, removing the need for their kyu-only grading system. It was also agreed that in future the Hon'inbo would always nominate the strongest player of the day as his heir - Shuho was still bitter at the way he had been passed over in 1862. Sadly, Shuho suffered a cerebral haemorrhage and died only three months after succeeding Shuei (he had only played one game as Hon'inbo, which he lost).

After Shuho's death, Nakagawa Kamesaburo, the third son of Hon'inbo Jowa, became the new president of the Hoensha. As for the Hon'inbo succession, the two strongest players were Shuei and Nakagawa, the only two 7 dans; Shuei challenged Nakagawa to a match to decide who should succeed Shuho as Hon'inbo, thereby annoying many people at the Hoensha who felt that the title should be Nakagawa's by right. However, Nakagawa declined the challenge to a match, saying he did not want the title. Consequently Shuei became Hon'inbo for the second time, but the Hoensha showed their displeasure by resuming its kyu-only grading system, which it retained until 1894.

During the 1890's Shuei dominated Japanese go, but the Hoensha continued to produce great players, of which the two greatest were Karigane Jun'ichi and Tamura Hoju. Tamura was the stronger of the two, and with Nakagawa out of the running he should have been nominated by Shuei as the Hon'inbo heir. Unfortunately, Shuei disliked Tamura, and refused to name him as heir, favouring Karigane instead. This was destined to cause some trouble after Shuei's death.

## CHAPTER 19. Shusai

In 1906 Shuei became Meijin, but was immediately challenged by Iwasaki Kenzo, the president of the Hoensha, who had succeeded Nakagawa in 1899. Kenzo was 8 dan, and the one player in Japan who might have been Shuei's equal, although they had only ever played one, unfinished, game ten years previously. Kenzo had had the better position in that game, and cited this as his objection. Shuei refused to play Kenzo, pleading illness, but proposed that Tamura play in his place. However, nothing came of it since Kenzo refused to play Tamura, telling everyone that the Meijin was scared of an old man (Kenzo was 64).

In 1907 Shuei died after only a year as Meijin, and bequeathed the Hon'inbo title to Karigane in his will. Tamura promptly lodged an objection on the grounds that he was stronger than Karigane, and the Hon'inbo succession was meant to go to the strongest player. Since neither Karigane nor Tamura would back down, the former Hon'inbo Shugen became Hon'inbo again in a caretaker capacity, despite being weaker than either. Shugen was now 6 dan in strength, but still called himself 4 dan, being a frivolous character surprisingly uninterested in climbing the dan ladder. When it was suggested to him that the honour of the Hon'inbo school required its head to be graded higher than 4 dan, Shugen responded by promoting himself to 6 dan for the day of the accession ceremony, then returning to 4 dan the next day.

In 1908 Shugen retired for the second time, and very properly bequeathed the Hon'inbo headship to Tamura as the strongest player. Tamura took the name Shusai, and became one of the greatest players of the twentieth century, gaining promotion to Meijin in 1914. As Meijin, Shusai wielded immense influence in the go world, to the extent that he put the Hoensha into the shade - whereas in the past, aspiring young players had joined the Hoensha, now they flocked to become disciples of Shusai. Needless to say, the Hoensha was far from pleased with this state of affairs - indeed, there was some grumbling even within the Hon'inbo school as Shusai's authority grew more absolute.

It was a Hon'inbo pupil, one Nozawa Chikuchō, who in 1914 was the first to challenge Shusai's authority, when he wrote an article for a go magazine criticising a game commentary by Shusai. It was intended as the first of a series of similar articles, but Shusai put pressure on the magazine editor and no further articles were accepted for publication. Nothing daunted, in 1918 Nozawa found a braver editor and continued his series until 1923, despite Shusai expelling him from the Hon'inbo school.

It had become customary for the newspapers to sponsor matches between the top players, in the same way as they now sponsor tournaments, but by the 1920's these matches were getting seriously out of hand. A single game between Shusai and his old rival Karigane took six months, lasting from May to November 1920 with 20 adjournments. The average speed of play was one hour per move; the slowest move took nine hours. This was partly due to Shusai's attitude. Traditionally the stronger player had the right to suspend play at any time, provided it was his move, but Shusai regularly abused this custom in important matches by suspending play for the day whenever he faced a difficult decision and then analysing the position at home with his pupils.

This sort of thing was clearly unacceptable, and so in 1922 Karigane and three other players formed a breakaway organisation, separate from both the Hon'inbo school and the Hoensha (and generally opposed to both) called the *Hiseikai*. This was essentially a pressure group, set up to lobby for the introduction of time limits (a maximum of 16 hours per player), and for adjournment times to be fixed in advance. The Hon'inbo school and the Hoensha were sufficiently alarmed by this development to join forces, creating a single association called the *Chuo Kiin* (Central Go Institute) in January 1923. However, differences between its two component parts split it up almost immediately.

All four Hiseikai members resented Shusai's authority, and they announced that they would hold a tournament amongst themselves, the winner of which was to be considered the top player in Japan. If Shusai did not like it he should challenge the Hiseikai's champion to a match. Karigane won the tournament, but the match with Shusai never took place since the Great Kanto Earthquake hit Tokyo soon afterwards.

## CHAPTER 20. The Nihon Kiin and Kiseisha

The Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923 caused all the Tokyo-based go groups to suffer enormous financial losses. It became well-nigh impossible for them to continue independently, and a leading politician and patron of go, Baron Okura, went to great lengths to persuade the various factions to settle their differences.

In May 1924, a conference was held at the new Imperial Hotel in Tokyo (one of only a handful of buildings still standing after the earthquake), attended by all the top players from Tokyo as well as delegates from Nagoya, Kobe, Osaka (including the last Inoue head, Egeta Inseki) and Kyoto. As a result of this historic meeting, a single national go association, the *Nihon Kiin*, was founded in July 1924, and the Hon'inbo and Inoue schools, Hoensha, and Hiseikai ceased to exist. (Egeta later withdrew from the Nihon Kiin and re-established the Inoue school. I don't know whether the Inoue school survived the war, though it was definitely in existence as late as 1937. Egeta himself lived until 1961.)

Although the Hon'inbo school no longer existed, the intention was to continue the Hon'inbo succession, with the title of Hon'inbo going to the strongest player as before. Shusai had already decided upon his heir - Kogishi Soji, one of the greatest prodigies in go history. Kogishi's talent was acknowledged by all; in a tournament sponsored by the *Jiji Shimpō* newspaper, in which the idea was to match a strong player against successive opponents until he lost a game, whereupon his opponent would take over, he won 32 successive games against all-comers. Shusai had even decided upon the name Kogishi would take as Hon'inbo - Shuritsu - but it was not to be; Kogishi died of typhoid in 1924, and Shusai could not bring himself to name a lesser player as his heir.

The Nihon Kiin introduced a number of innovations. Time limits were introduced, as the Hiseikai had wanted; there was a regular tournament for all professionals, known as the *Oteai* (Great Matchplay), which is still the only tournament which counts towards promotion in the professional grades; the magazine *Kido* was founded; and amateur grades were introduced for the first time, set much lower than the corresponding professional grades, with the Nihon Kiin giving itself the authority to issue amateur dan diplomas.

It couldn't last - within three months of the Nihon Kiin's founding, there emerged a rival organisation. The cause of the split was the Kiin's insistence on handling all contacts with the media, such as arranging sponsorship. Five players, led by Karigane, were disciplined for making their own financial arrangements with a sponsoring newspaper, and responded by leaving to set up their own organisation, the *Kiseisha*.

Within a year two of the Kiseisha's five members had returned to the Nihon Kiin, but despite this the *Yomiuri* newspaper was keen to sponsor a match between the two organisations. It took a long time

to break down the Kiin's resistance to such a match, but finally in 1926 a game was arranged between Karigane and Shusai, which caused great public interest as these two had been rivals before, over the Hon'inbo succession in 1907. Unlike their earlier game in 1920, this game was played with time limits (16 hours per player) - unfortunately for Karigane, who lost on time.

The match continued with the Nihon Kiin pitting a team of fifteen players against the three members of the Kiseisha (Karigane, Onoda Chiyotaro and Takabe Dohei). The result was a heavy defeat for the Kiseisha, which severely dented their credibility - not least because Onoda returned to the Nihon Kiin during the match (and later even played on the Kiin's side). To fill the gap, the *Yomiuri* recruited Nozawa Chikuchō, who it will be remembered had been expelled from the Hon'inbo school by Shusai and had been living in retirement in Kobe ever since. The Kiseisha promoted him directly from 5 dan to 7 dan without a single game, and pinned all their hopes on him.

The Nihon Kiin were outraged by this unearned promotion and showed their displeasure by selecting Suzuki Tamejiro, one of the two Kiseisha members who originally returned to the Kiin, to play a *jubango* (ten game match) for them against Nozawa. Suzuki won the match easily and the Kiseisha was effectively finished. (Nozawa, who was suffering from tuberculosis, died before the tenth game could be played, but he was three games behind anyway.) Karigane kept the Kiseisha going, but with only two members it became an irrelevance.

## CHAPTER 21. Go Seigen and Kitani

Chinese go had not matched the progress of the Japanese over the past three centuries; there had been no official support for the game in China, and the top Chinese players were by now forced to take three stones from their counterparts in Japan. Despite this, in 1926 Iwamoto Kaoru, then 6 dan, visited China and discovered a boy who was to become arguably the greatest go player of the twentieth century.

Wu Qingyuan, who is better known by the Japanese reading of his name, Go Seigen, was luckier than most Chinese go players. His father had visited Japan in his youth, and had spent several years there studying at the Hoensha. On returning to China he brought back a number of Japanese go books including a collection of Shusaku's games, which were not available in China. With this help the young Go became the strongest player in China by the age of thirteen. However, it was clear that his fortunate circumstances alone could not explain his progress; Go was a genius in his own right, one with few equals in history.

In 1928, after some financial and political problems had been overcome, Go was brought to Japan, where his talent could be fully developed. He was allowed to play at 3 dan straight away, without having to pass through the lower grades. Even so, he still swept all before him, reaching 5 dan by 1932. Only one player was able to hold his own against Go - Kitani Minoru, another of the greats of the twentieth century, who had been the Nihon Kiin's most successful player in the match against the Kiseisha. The two became close friends, and in 1933 went on holiday together and spent much time discussing fuseki (opening) theory. The traditional concept of fuseki, little changed since Dosaku's time, had been very much oriented towards territory, with players generally starting from the 3-4 point and continuing with extensions or pincers on the third line because of its territorial value. Only when the edge territory was divided up would there be any attempt to make territory in the centre. Although experiments had been made in recent years with alternative fuseki concepts, it was Go and Kitani who popularised what became known as *Shin Fuseki* (New Fuseki).

New Fuseki emphasised a rapid development, controlling the centre with high moves and only making territory indirectly by forcing the opponent to play within one's sphere of influence. Kitani and Go made great use of moves such as the 3-3 and 4-4 points, which had only recently been introduced after centuries of being regarded as unplayable, and openings like the sanrensei which had never been seen before.

When Go and Kitani took the top two places in the autumn 1933 Oteai, New Fuseki suddenly caught on like wildfire. The younger players, who were inevitably the keenest proponents of New Fuseki, experimented with ever more bizarre ideas such as the 5-5 and 4-6 points; an extreme example was set by one Tanaka Fujio, who often played his first stone on the tengen point. One of Tanaka's weirder openings was to play his first four moves on the 5-10 points.

The most famous game of the New Fuseki period was a game sponsored by the *Yomiuri* newspaper between Go and Shusai. The game was seen by many as an international match; it was certainly a clash of the old and new fuseki theories. Go played his first three moves on the 3-3 point, the opposite 4-4 point, and tengen, allowing Shusai to make two shimaris (which was considered unthinkable by the old school). Traditionalists were outraged, accusing Go of disrespect towards the Meijin, and extremists even threw stones at Go's house. Shusai won by two points, but despite this, New Fuseki continued to be popular.

By 1937, however, the novelty value of New Fuseki was starting to wear off. The more extreme ideas were abandoned, and slowly the old style made a comeback. However, New Fuseki did not die - rather, fuseki became a blend of the best of both styles, as it has remained to this day. The New Fuseki changed fuseki theory forever.

In 1937 Shusai announced that he was going to retire. He would play one last "retirement game" and then bequeath the title of Hon'inbo to the Nihon Kiin, to be competed for in a tournament to be held every two years. It was decided to hold a tournament to choose Shusai's opponent, and it was Kitani who won the right to challenge the Meijin. The game began in June 1938, and is famous mostly because Kawabata Yasunari, who wrote the newspaper reports on the game, turned his impressions of the game and the players into a novel entitled *Meijin* (published in English as *The Master of Go*). As Shusai's health was deteriorating, it was not really a fair contest - at one point the game had to be suspended for three months after Shusai's doctor ordered him to take a rest. Kitani eventually won by five points. Shusai died a year later, in January 1940.

After Shusai retired, Kitani and Go Seigen became the two leading players in Japan; it was inevitable that someone would ask them to play a match to settle the question of who was the stronger. The *Yomiuri* newspaper organised a jubango between the two in 1939; Go won 6-4, but more embarrassing for Kitani was the fact that at one point he fell four games behind and was forced to the handicap of *sen'aisen* (playing Black in two games out of three).

The *Yomiuri*, flushed with the success of the Go-Kitani match, promptly arranged another jubango in which Go played the veteran Karigane Jun'ichi, the head of the Kiseisha. However, before this match could take place, the opposition of the Nihon Kiin had to be overcome - they still regarded the Kiseisha as the enemy. Karigane was no longer hostile to the Nihon Kiin, but there were problems with his rejoining it, since he had by now acquired a number of disciples, whose Kiseisha grades were not recognised by the Kiin. He solved the problem by dissolving the Kiseisha, instead founding a new organisation, the *Keiinsha*, consisting of him and his disciples - that way the Nihon Kiin could say they weren't playing the Kiseisha. The Kiseisha's other surviving founder member, Takabe Dohei, on the other hand, had maintained his hostility to the Nihon Kiin and refused to join the new organisation in disgust. Having cut himself off from the rest of the go world, he therefore had to spend the last ten years of his life in retirement.

Unfortunately, Karigane was out of practice, as well as being thirty-five years older than Go; the match was suspended when Go took a 4-1 lead, since another loss would have forced Karigane to a handicap and the *Yomiuri* did not want to see Karigane humiliated. Actually, given the circumstances, Karigane did very well to win even one game. As for the *Keiinsha*, it remained in existence, with its membership confined to Karigane's dwindling band of disciples, who effectively sacrificed their careers out of loyalty to Karigane and were with rare exceptions, barred from professional tournaments.

## CHAPTER 22. The Hon'inbo Tournament

Shusai, it will be remembered, had bequeathed the title of Hon'inbo to the Nihon Kiin to be awarded in a tournament. When Shusai retired, preparations began for the first Hon'inbo tournament, but there were a number of problems to be overcome first.

The tournament was to be open to all Nihon Kiin players of 4 dan and up, but there was great resistance to the idea of players of different ranks playing even games - this had been unheard of in the past. As a compromise, a long series of preliminary tournaments were held in order to minimise the number of even games between differently ranked players - thus there was a 4 dan tournament, the winner of which played in a 5 dan tournament; the winner of this joined a complicated two-stage 6 dan tournament, from which four players emerged to join the four 7 dans in a final eliminator (there were no 8 dans at this time, and of course no 9 dan), to decide the two players who would play in the title match.



It was intended that the tournament would be played with komi, but there was resistance to this idea as well, headed by Kato Shin, 7 dan. Traditionally komi had only ever been used in non-serious contexts such as *rengo* (team go), and although komi had been used in the tournament to select Shusai's opponent in his retirement game, this was widely felt to be a retrograde step. The *Mainichi* newspaper, which was sponsoring the tournament, had to compromise in order to get Kato to play, so it was agreed that the final title match would be played without komi. They also had to publish an article by Kato explaining why, in his opinion, komi go was not real go.

The *Mainichi* also had problems with another 7 dan, Suzuki Tamejiro, over the question of time limits. Although Suzuki, as a member of the Hiseikai, had been instrumental in the introduction of time limits in the 1920's, he felt that the Hon'inbo tournament was too important for time limits to be used. As a 7 dan, Suzuki was seeded into the final eliminator, where the intended time limits were 13 hours per player; the *Mainichi* had to compromise yet again, allowing Suzuki to play his games with 16 hours per player. It did him no good, as he came last.

The top two players from the final eliminator were widely expected to be Go Seigen and Kitani, but in the event Go came third and Kitani fifth; the top two were Sekiyama Riichi, 6 dan, and Kato Shin. They played a six-game match, with no komi as had been agreed, and Black won every game, resulting in a 3-3 tie. The rules of the tournament said that in the event of a tie the winner was to be the player who had done better in the elimination tournament, and since this was Sekiyama, he became the first Hon'inbo under the modern system (see [APPENDIX G](#) for a list of Hon'inbo winners). It had been decided to continue the old custom of adopting a new name on becoming Hon'inbo, and so Sekiyama adopted the name Risen.

Since the Hon'inbo tournament was originally a biennial event, it was not until 1943 that the time came for Sekiyama to defend his title. The challenger was Hashimoto Utaro, 6 dan, who won the first game of their title match. During the second game Sekiyama collapsed at the board with severe stomach cramps, aggravated by an incurable spinal disease. He was unable to finish the game, or the match, and had to retire from competition on medical advice. Consequently the Nihon Kiin awarded the title to Hashimoto, who became Hon'inbo Shou.

Two years later, during the final months of the Second World War, the third Hon'inbo tournament began. This was motivated more by the wish to keep organised go afloat than anything else; by now go columns had vanished from the newspapers because of paper shortages, and some of the younger players were being conscripted. The challenger this time was Iwamoto Kaoru, 7 dan, and since Tokyo was being heavily bombed the venue was switched to - of all places - Hiroshima.

Iwamoto won the first game, held in the city centre, but for the second game the local police chief, worried about air raids, insisted they move to the outskirts for their own safety - a decision which saved their lives, since they were protected from the effects of the atomic bomb, which was dropped during the game (according to Iwamoto, between White 106 and Black 107). The shock wave broke the windows of the playing room and scattered the stones across the floor, but the players, who were shielded from the blast by a low hill and had no idea what had happened, simply set the position up again (a simple task for two professionals) and continued the game, which Hashimoto won by five points.

Under the circumstances, it was decided to suspend the match, and it was not resumed for three months, by which time the war was over. The remaining four games, played in rather straitened circumstances, were all won by black, resulting in a 3-3 tie. Although there was meant to be a seventh game (with komi) in the event of a tie, this never took place - both players agreed that the reconstruction of Japanese go was more important now. Hashimoto surrendered the title to the Nihon Kiin, and it was not until July 1946 that a special three-game playoff was arranged. Since Iwamoto won the first two games, he finally became Hon'inbo Kunwa, the first Hon'inbo of the post-war era.

## CHAPTER 23. The Post-war Recovery

The war years had wrecked the Japanese go world. The Nihon Kiin's headquarters had been destroyed in an air raid, the Oteai had been suspended, go columns and magazines had disappeared, newspaper sponsorship had ceased, and Japanese society in general was concerned only with its own survival and was in no position to support an unproductive élite of professional go players.

Iwamoto played a major role in the go world's post-war recovery; he allowed his house to be used as a temporary headquarters for the Nihon Kiin, and he, along with other top players, became Nihon Kiin directors. This was a significant change, as previously professional players had been barred from administrative posts within the Kiin; it had been felt that their personal rivalries would prevent them working well together as administrators. Be that as it may, the Nihon Kiin has been run by senior professionals ever since.

The Oteai resumed in 1946 (with only 40 participants) and newspaper go columns began to reappear the same year. However, some players were dissatisfied with the pace of recovery and in 1947 a group of eight players broke away from the Nihon Kiin to form their own group, *Igo Shinsha* (the New Go Society).

The same year, the Nihon Kiin bought a new headquarters building in the Takanawa district of Tokyo, which was opened the following year. Since the lack of a permanent playing venue had been one of the main causes of the Igo Shinsha's defection, they became somewhat marginalised, with little reason for their continued existence. They made an attempt to establish themselves, with a three-game match between Sakata Eio of the Igo Shinsha and Go Seigen of the Nihon Kiin, but Go won all three games (and also won a separate game against another Igo Shinsha player, Kajiware Takeo). Eventually, in 1949, the Igo Shinsha was dissolved and its members applied for readmission to the Nihon Kiin. They were made to apologise publicly for breaking away from the Nihon Kiin before they could return.

The post-war revival of go is sometimes said to have started with the fourth Hon'inbo tournament in 1947. The challenger this time was Kitani, 8 dan. The title match was a best-of-five, and for the first time, komi (of 4½ points) was used. Kitani was the favourite, but it was Iwamoto who won the match by three games to two. In recognition of this achievement Iwamoto was promoted to 8 dan in 1948.

There were now five 8 dans in Japan, but since Shusai's death there had been no 9 dan. In the past, 9 dan had been equivalent to Meijin and so only one player could be 9 dan at a time, but in the post-war period many old attitudes were being questioned, and it had been decided that promotion to 9 dan should be available to anybody who could gain sufficient wins in the Oteai, regardless of whether a 9 dan already existed. The first 9 dan produced by the Oteai was Fujisawa Kuranosuke, who was promoted in May 1949. This policy has resulted in considerable inflation in the professional dan grades; most of the eighty-odd 9 dans in Japan today would probably never have got beyond 6 or 7 dan had they lived fifty years earlier. All attempts to correct the problem by allowing demotion have failed due to the predictable opposition of the weaker 9 dans.

In October 1949, another reform took place which was long overdue - for the first time, the Nihon Kiin published an official version of the rules of go. Incredibly, throughout all the previous centuries of go history, the rules had only ever existed as an uncodified tradition, and this had led to a number of rules disputes in the past, most recently in a game between Iwamoto and Go Seigen in 1948 when the referee could not decide whether Go's margin of victory was one point or two. Although the 1949 rules made no attempt to be logically consistent, they did at least enable disputes like this to be settled. (They were updated and given some logical underpinning in 1989, but it is still possible to demonstrate logical flaws.)

Go Seigen's position within the Japanese go world was an unfortunate one at this time. Although he was a naturalised Japanese citizen, after the war the Chinese contingent of the Occupation authorities forced his naturalisation to be revoked, returning him to Chinese citizenship. Also, Go had become a convert to *Jiu-kyo*, a not very respectable shamanistic religion with Shinto elements, suspected by the police of being a front for black market racketeering (though there has never been any suggestion that Go himself was involved in anything illegal, or that his conversion was anything other than genuine). Someone - it is not clear who - put pressure on the Nihon Kiin's directors, with the result that Go was forced to resign from the Kiin in 1947. This meant that he was excluded from all Nihon Kiin events, most significantly the Hon'inbo tournament and the Oteai. He would have had no opportunities to play top-level go at all had the *Yomiuri* newspaper not stepped in and arranged a series of jubango matches with the other top players of the day (see APPENDIX F).

Go's performance in these matches was spectacular. He beat Hashimoto Uтарo 6-3 with one jigo (but, as if Go hadn't enough problems, the Chinese authorities withdrew the temporary Chinese passport they had issued him, as a punishment for losing badly in the first game - they said they "had no use for losers"). In the second jubango he beat Iwamoto Kaoru 7-2 with one jigo. (It was during the first game of this match that the rules dispute referred to above took place.) Since both his opponents were 8 dans,

the Nihon Kiin promoted Go to 9 dan in February 1950, even though he was no longer a member of the Kiin, and so for the first time ever there were two 9 dans at the same time.

## CHAPTER 24. The Kansai Kiin

Before the war, professional go activity had been pretty much confined to Tokyo. Promising players elsewhere in the country had to travel to Tokyo if they wished to advance their careers, since that was where the vast majority of tournament games were held and most of the strongest players lived. Of course, this was a self-perpetuating state of affairs, and it was not until the war made travelling difficult that the players living in the Osaka area made any attempt to organise themselves locally. After the war they set up a Nihon Kiin branch in Osaka, organised their own local Oteai, and Tokyo's stranglehold on professional go was broken.

By 1950 there was a strong and growing rivalry between the Nihon Kiin's headquarters in Tokyo and the Western Japan branch in Osaka. The *Mainichi* newspaper organised an East-West match in 1950, which the East team won 7-5, and this caused so much interest that the Oteai that year was organised as an East-West contest as well. When the top Osaka player, Hashimoto Utaro, became the challenger to the Tokyo-based Iwamoto in the fifth Hon'inbo tournament (also in 1950 - a year late), this served to increase still further the East-West rivalry. Hashimoto won a surprisingly easy victory; he won every game to take the Hon'inbo title 4-0, much to Osaka's delight.

At the ceremony held to install Hashimoto as the new Hon'inbo, the Nihon Kiin's Chairman announced that in future the tournament would be held every year, rather than every two years. Unfortunately, nobody had bothered to tell Hashimoto beforehand, and he interpreted this as an attempt to win the title back to Tokyo as soon as possible. He returned to Osaka in a rage. The Osaka players had several other grievances, mainly concerned with Tokyo's refusal to devolve any significant power to them (for example, they were not allowed to issue promotions without reference to Tokyo) and this was the last straw. Osaka's rebellion was now unstoppable, and in September 1950 the Japanese go world split in two when the Osaka branch of the Nihon Kiin declared itself independent, under the name of the *Kansai Kiin*.

At this time there were forty-seven players affiliated to the Osaka branch, but twenty of them refused to leave the Nihon Kiin. However, this still left the fledgling Kansai Kiin with twenty-seven members, headed by the reigning Hon'inbo. This was by far the largest rebellion against the Nihon Kiin in its history, and the Nihon Kiin was determined to strangle it at birth.

The two major events run by the Nihon Kiin were the Oteai and the Hon'inbo tournament. The Kansai Kiin's players were promptly thrown out of the Oteai, but the Hon'inbo tournament was more problematical, since of course Hashimoto was the title-holder. Some of the more hot-headed of the Nihon Kiin's directors actually demanded that Hashimoto be stripped of the title, on the grounds that it was the property of the Nihon Kiin, bequeathed to them by Shusai. This view did not prevail, since it was argued that the title would be devalued if Hashimoto were to be prevented from defending it. However, no such consideration applied to the Kansai Kiin's other members, and the Nihon Kiin considered debarring them from the qualifying stages of the next year's tournament. However, Hashimoto said that if the Kansai Kiin's players were not allowed to play, he would refuse to defend his title. The Nihon Kiin therefore backed down. Hashimoto also extracted a promise from the Nihon Kiin that even if he lost the title match, the Kansai Kiin players would not be prevented from playing in future Hon'inbo tournaments.

To the Nihon Kiin's relief, it was a Nihon Kiin player who won the qualifying tournament and became the challenger in the sixth Hon'inbo title match. Sakata Eio, then 7 dan, was well-known in the go world for the sharpness of his play, and he was still improving rapidly. He was under enormous pressure to win, and his health suffered as a result, but he still managed to win three of the first four games - Hashimoto seemed unable to cope with Sakata's style.

Then Hashimoto began a famous comeback. He had finally found the weaknesses in Sakata's play, and changed his own style completely to take advantage of them. As a result, he won the last three games to retain the title 4-3. The Kansai Kiin had proved itself, and the credibility this gave it meant that its future was secure. Things might have been very different if Hashimoto had lost.

The Nihon Kiin had to accept that it could no longer run Japanese professional go in such a centralised way. To limit the damage and prevent any future schisms, it maintained its Osaka branch,

for the use of the twenty players who had refused to join the Kansai Kiin, and opened another branch in Japan's third city, Nagoya.

## CHAPTER 25. Fujisawa and Go Seigen

It will be recalled that shortly after Fujisawa Kuranosuke's promotion to 9 dan in 1949, Go Seigen was also promoted to 9 dan, creating the unprecedented situation of there being two 9 dans at the same time. Naturally, there was great interest aroused in organising a match between the two of them to see who was the stronger. Fujisawa was the only player who had ever beaten Go in a jubango, but that was in 1942-4, before Go left the Nihon Kiin, and it had not been played on even terms, Fujisawa playing Black in every game (*josen*).

The *Yomiuri* newspaper, however, had trouble negotiating with Fujisawa, and so arranged a match for Go against the reigning Hon'inbo, Hashimoto Uтарo. The *Yomiuri* suggested, in the publicity for this match, that Fujisawa was unwilling to play against Go; whereupon Fujisawa issued an indignant denial, which was the first shot in a slanging match between Fujisawa and the *Yomiuri*, played out in the pages of *Kido* magazine. The result of this was that Fujisawa agreed to the *Yomiuri* terms, and a jubango was arranged between Fujisawa and Go (who by now had defeated Hashimoto 5-3 with 2 jigo).

Go won the first game, in October 1951, but was lucky to do so. Both players misread a semeai in the corner; Fujisawa, thinking he had lost the semeai, played tenuki, Go added an extra stone, and Fujisawa resigned. It was left to the game recorder, a mere 4 dan, to point out to both players a move that would have won Fujisawa the semeai.

Fujisawa recovered from this bad start, winning two of the next three games and gaining a jigo in the third. He looked like winning the fifth game too, getting a greatly superior position, but somehow Go managed to pull off an upset victory. It was the turning point; Go won every game after that to take the match 7-2 with one jigo. Worse still for Fujisawa, after the ninth game he was four games behind and so was forced down to the handicap of *sen'aisen* (playing Black in two games out of three) - a great humiliation for a player who, as the only other 9 dan, was supposed to be Go's only equal.

Fujisawa, refusing to accept this state of affairs, promptly challenged Go to a second match, despite the fact that he was attracting criticism for neglecting his obligations to the Nihon Kiin (he had withdrawn from all other tournaments in order to concentrate on his matches with Go). It was a grave mistake. He won only one game; and when he was forced down again, this time to the handicap of *josen*, he discontinued the match and resigned from the Nihon Kiin, his career in ruins. It was at this time that he changed his given name from Kuranosuke to Hosai, to mark his semi-retired status.

By contrast, Go's career went from strength to strength, despite his non-membership of the Nihon Kiin. He had now defeated all the senior active players, and was indisputably the strongest player in Japan. When he visited Taiwan in 1952 he was treated as a national hero by those same authorities who had called him a "loser" and withdrawn his passport only six years earlier. Perhaps they had learnt some humility; they had become losers themselves, on a much bigger scale, in 1949 at the hands of the Communists. On this trip Go discovered a ten-year-old prodigy, Lin Haifeng (better known today by the Japanese reading of his name, Rin Kaiho), and brought him back to Japan with him.

In 1953 Go suffered his first loss in a match since the wartime jubango against Fujisawa. The player who put an end to Go's winning streak was Sakata Eio, 8 dan, who won a six-game match 4-1 with one jigo. Even more impressive was the fact that Sakata, playing on the handicap of *sen'aisen*, won both his games on white. The *Yomiuri* newspaper was sufficiently impressed by this to organise a jubango between the two players. Sakata started well, winning the first game on black. In the second game, in which Go played black, he broke the habit of twenty years by starting on the 3-4 point rather than the 4-4 point - a sign that he felt unsettled by Sakata's play.

However, Sakata proved unable to repeat his previous victory - after eight games, Go had taken a 6-2 lead, forcing Sakata down to *josen*, and the match was discontinued. At this time Sakata had a reputation for being unable to win important games, but nonetheless he had Go more worried than any of his previous opponents.

## CHAPTER 26. The Takagawa Era

The seventh Hon'inbo title match, held in 1952, did not generate the same excitement as some of the previous matches. The reason was simple; the challenger, Takagawa Kaku, 7 dan, was not really considered to be a great threat to the reigning Hon'inbo, Hashimoto Utaro. His go was unspectacular and he had a poor record against his peers, and he was considered to have done well to reach the title match at all. Consequently, nobody was surprised to see Hashimoto win the first game easily, but when Takagawa won the next four games to take the title (he became Hon'inbo Shukaku), people were astonished.

Despite winning the title, Takagawa was still considered rather weak, and several of the top players saw this as a good opportunity to win the title for themselves. The first player to try to unseat Takagawa was Kitani Minoru, 8 dan, who was already regarded as one of the greatest players of all time; surely the Great Kitani would have no trouble disposing of Takagawa - and yet, when the 1953 Hon'inbo title match was over, it was Takagawa who had won by a 4-2 margin.

In 1954 it was the turn of Sugiuchi Masao, 7 dan, to challenge Takagawa, but he did no better than Kitani, losing by the same margin, 4-2. In the same year Takagawa also won the Oza tournament, which had been founded the previous year, as well as winning the first Nihon Kiin Championship and gaining promotion to 8 dan. 1955 saw Shimamura Toshihiro, 8 dan, attempt to dethrone Takagawa, only to suffer a 4-0 whitewash. Shimamura was back the following year, and achieved a more respectable 4-2 defeat, but a defeat nonetheless.

During 1955-6, Takagawa played a jubango against Go Seigen, who was unable to participate in the Hon'inbo tournament since he was not a member of the Nihon Kiin or Kansai Kiin. Most years the winner of the Hon'inbo title would play a special three-game match against Go, and Takagawa's record in these matches was abysmal - he had played two matches, in 1953 and 1955, without winning a single game. Despite this, in recognition of Takagawa's record in the Hon'inbo tournament he was allowed to play on even in the jubango. Takagawa started badly, losing the first three games, but then fought back. It was not until Go won the eighth game that Go was able to gain a four-game lead to change the handicap to *sen'aisen*, and on the new handicap Takagawa won the last two games, resulting in a 6-4 win for Go. This was the final jubango of Go's career.

Go was not the only player that Takagawa had trouble with - Sakata Eio, now 9 dan, caused him great difficulties. Sakata was at this time winning titles by the dozen (his lifetime total of 64 titles has never been surpassed or even approached), but the Hon'inbo title, his main ambition, remained beyond his grasp - he proved unable to win the league to become the challenger, despite coming second five times during the 1950's. It must have been particularly irritating for him, since in minor titles he hardly ever lost against Takagawa.

With Sakata unable to reach him, Takagawa's reign as Hon'inbo continued. His opponent in 1957 was Fujisawa Hosai, who, despite being an unaffiliated player, had been allowed to take part in the Hon'inbo tournament after mediation by the tournament's sponsor, the *Mainichi* newspaper. Takagawa won by a 4-2 margin (all but two of his wins in the Hon'inbo tournament were by this margin).

And so it continued - in 1958 Sugiuchi suffered his second 4-2 defeat, as did Kitani the following year. In 1960 it was the turn of Fujisawa Hideyuki (better known as Shuko), 8 dan, to play the supporting role in Takagawa's win, by his usual 4-2 margin. In the same year Takagawa finally achieved promotion to 9 dan.

It couldn't go on forever, and of course it didn't. In 1961 Sakata finally broke through to win the Hon'inbo league, though he had to win a playoff against Kitani to do it. Although Takagawa had long since ceased to be regarded as easy meat, Sakata was the hardest opponent Takagawa had faced so far. Sakata took the match 4-1, becoming Hon'inbo Eiju, and the Takagawa era was over. As Takagawa left the playing room after the final game, the assembled spectators burst into spontaneous applause - the only time this has ever happened for the loser of a title match. Takagawa, who nine years previously had been given little chance of winning the title and still less chance of successfully defending it, had confounded his critics and earned a place in go history.

## CHAPTER 27. The Meijin Tournament

Since Shusai's death in 1940, the position of Meijin had been vacant. The Nihon Kiin held the rights to the title, and had made provision in the 1949 rules of go for awarding it to the leading player of the day. To gain appointment as Meijin under these rules, a player had to be not only 9 dan but also a present or past winner of the Hon'inbo tournament. However, in 1949 no player fulfilled these conditions. It was not until 1952 that any player became eligible for appointment as Meijin by the 1949 criteria, but as the player in question was Hashimoto Utaro, the head of the Kansai Kiin, it is not surprising that the Nihon Kiin chose to ignore its own rule. In any case, it was coming to be felt that it would be more appropriate to follow the precedent of the Hon'inbo tournament and hold an annual Meijin tournament.

Throughout the 1950's the three main go sponsors, the *Yomiuri*, *Asahi* and *Mainichi* newspapers, vied with each other for the right to sponsor a Meijin tournament. The *Asahi* nearly succeeded in 1952, but had to abandon its attempt due to the refusal of the Kansai Kiin to take part. For the rest of the decade the three papers succeeded only in thwarting each other.

The impasse was finally broken in 1960 by Fujisawa Shuko, 8 dan, the newly elected head of the Nihon Kiin's Liaison Department. He wanted to found a Meijin tournament, and approached the *Asahi* to ask them if they would sponsor it. However, the *Asahi* was unwilling to agree to the Nihon Kiin's terms and so the negotiations fell through. Fujisawa then went to the *Yomiuri* with the same proposal, and they agreed straightaway. The *Asahi* was not pleased by this, and showed its displeasure by abandoning its sponsorship of the Oteai. For some years afterwards the *Asahi* refused to sponsor professional go, concentrating solely on amateur tournaments. The Oteai has not had a sponsor since, and the game fees and prize money reflect this. Many players probably only take part in it because it is still the only tournament which counts towards promotion and because participation in the Oteai is a precondition for playing in the big-money tournaments.

In January 1961, the first Meijin tournament began (see APPENDIX H for a list of Meijin title winners). For this first year there was to be no title match; the title would be won by the winner of a 13-player league comprising all the top players, including Go Seigen, who, as an unaffiliated player, was unable to compete in other tournaments. Fujisawa Hosai had, incidentally, returned to the Nihon Kiin two years previously, and also took part in the league.

It took eighteen months for all the games to be completed, and the unexpected winner was the creator of the tournament, Fujisawa Shuko, with nine wins to three losses. Go Seigen also scored 9-3, but since one of his wins was really a jigo (against Sakata Eio), this did not carry as much weight as a true win. A few years earlier Go would have won such a league easily, but by now he was passing his peak. He had also been knocked down by a motorcycle in August 1961, suffering a spinal injury which resulted in his hospitalisation, and although he was able to resume playing in the league after a three-month period of recuperation, for the rest of his career he suffered from severe headaches during play which affected his ability to concentrate. Whereas the 1950's had been dominated by Go and Takagawa, the 1960's belonged to Sakata Eio and Rin Kaiho.

Since Sakata won the Hon'inbo title from Takagawa in 1961, he had swept all before him, winning a record seven titles in that year. Although he failed to win the first Meijin tournament in 1962, he rectified this the following year, defeating Shuko 4-3, and successfully defended the title 4-1 against Shuko in 1964. Meanwhile he continued to hold the Hon'inbo title, winning it for seven consecutive years which included an unbroken run of seventeen wins in Hon'inbo title matches between 1963 and 1967.

The fourth Meijin tournament, in 1965, saw the emergence of a new star, Go Seigen's protégé Rin Kaiho, who won the league with six wins to one loss despite being only 7 dan (and only twenty-one years old). Go also played in the league, but lost all his games and never played in the Meijin league again - his injury had effectively ended his career, although he did not actually retire until 1984. Another player whose career was over was Kitani Minoru, who had been unable to take part in the league (which therefore comprised only eight players that year instead of the usual nine) due to ill-health which forced him into retirement.

Although Rin had won the right to challenge Sakata, few people expected him to win - not only was Sakata at his peak as a player, but Rin was considered too young to be Meijin. The conventional wisdom of the time was that a go player reached his peak in his thirties and early forties. It was therefore a nasty surprise to Sakata to lose the title match 4-2. Nor was this an isolated win; Rin

repulsed Meijin challenges by Sakata in 1966 and 1967, and furthermore took the Hon'inbo title from Sakata in 1968.

As the first non-Japanese to win the Hon'inbo title, Rin defied tradition by declining to take a new name as Hon'inbo, as have all subsequent non-Japanese winners. Although Hon'inbo title winners can still adopt new names on winning the title, no Japanese player has won the Hon'inbo title since 1988, and the practice seems likely to die out through disuse. Even before 1988 the media had started ignoring the new names, referring to Hon'inbo title holders by their original names.

Rin seemed bound for a long reign as Meijin, but in 1968 he rather surprisingly lost the title to none other than Takagawa Kaku, who was now fifty-three years old. Rin recovered the title in 1969, but then lost it the following year to yet another veteran - Fujisawa Shuko, who was forty-five. Rin recaptured the title from Shuko the following year, and defeated Shuko again in 1972. However, it was felt that Shuko had done well to play in three successive Meijin title matches at his age. The traditional view that more mature players would always prevail over youngsters had been turned on its head, and it was Rin who was responsible.

## CHAPTER 28. The Kitani Dojo

Although Kitani Minoru, 9 dan, had been forced by ill-health to retire in 1964, his influence on Japanese go was far from over. He had already started to accumulate a number of promising pupils, and from the 1970's onward these pupils came to virtually dominate the top titles.

Although all the top players in Japan acquire professional pupils, Kitani was unique in modern times for his large number of young pupils (over fifty in total), many of whom lived at Kitani's house and treated him as their father. Under the guidance of Kitani, and later of Kajiwara Takeo, 9 dan, who took over when Kitani became too ill to continue, these young pupils would study go morning and night, and it was hardly surprising that these hot-house conditions created a crop of brilliant young players in later years. In effect, Kitani was running an old-style go school such as had existed during the Edo period, and as such it became known as the *Kitani Dojo* (a *dojo* is a training school - the word is more commonly used in connection with the martial arts).

The first sign that the pupils of the Kitani Dojo were poised to take over at the top was in 1968, when a twenty-one-year-old 4 dan named Kato Masao won a place in the Hon'inbo league. For a 4 dan to win a place in a league was unprecedented; furthermore, he did well enough to retain his place in the league the following year, and then astonished everyone by becoming the Hon'inbo challenger in 1969, while still only 5 dan. Although Rin defeated him 4-2 in the title match, Kato was clearly someone to watch in the future.

It was another Kitani pupil, Ishida Yoshio, 7 dan, who made the breakthrough by defeating Rin 4-2 in the 1971 Hon'inbo title match. At twenty-two years of age, he became the youngest ever holder of a major title. Ishida's next target was the Meijin title, and in 1973 he created another record by winning the Meijin league with a perfect 8-0 score. Furthermore, he won the first three games of the title match against Rin - but then Rin began a famous comeback, winning the last four games to save his title. However, in 1974 Ishida took the Meijin title from Rin 4-3, to add to the Hon'inbo title he still held. Sadly, once he reached the top he seemed to lose the urge to stay there, and in 1975 he lost the Meijin title to Otake Hideo, 9 dan, and followed this in 1976 by losing the Hon'inbo title to Takemiya Masaki, 8 dan. Both Otake and Takemiya were products of the Kitani Dojo, which thus retained its supremacy.

The Kitani Dojo did not survive Kitani's death in 1975, but his pupils will doubtless dominate professional go for many years to come. In addition to Kato, Ishida, Otake and Takemiya, two other Kitani Dojo players have reached the top - Cho Chikun and Kobayashi Koichi. Cho, who comes from a family of professional go players in Korea, was sent to Japan at the age of six, and became the youngest professional in modern times at the age of eleven. He won his first title in 1973 at the age of sixteen; at the age of eighteen, he became the youngest-ever winner of a major tournament (the now-defunct Pro Best Ten tournament, in which he beat Kato 3-0), and in 1981 he set another record by becoming 9 dan at the age of 24. Cho has been winning titles ever since; at one time he held the top four titles simultaneously.

Kobayashi Koichi won the Tengen tournament in 1976, but spent the next decade firmly in Cho's shadow. Kobayashi's great days were still to come; his career will be considered in more detail later.

## CHAPTER 29. The Kisei Tournament

By the end of the 1960's there was mounting dissatisfaction within the Nihon Kiin over the level of sponsorship being offered by the *Yomiuri* for the Meijin tournament. The sponsorship money had remained unchanged at 25 million yen since the tournament's inception in 1961, despite inflation, and the *Yomiuri*, which had passed into the hands of new proprietors with little interest in go, refused to increase it.

The Nihon Kiin sought an additional sponsor at the *Yomiuri*'s suggestion, and as a result in 1969 a deal was struck with the Toyota company for advertisements to be run in the *Yomiuri* next to its go column. Incredibly, the *Yomiuri* kept all the advertising revenue from the Toyota ads, passing nothing on to the Nihon Kiin, which had assumed, not unreasonably, that it was going to get the money. After three years, the *Yomiuri* was finally pressured into increasing the sponsorship - but the small 10% increase that was offered only served to make the Kiin even more furious. (During the period of the *Yomiuri*'s sponsorship, wages and prices rose 5.6 fold.)

The 1975 Meijin tournament was the last to be sponsored by the *Yomiuri* - the Kiin had had enough, and signed a new contract with the *Asahi*, who were already sponsoring the shogi Meijin tournament and were keen to have the pair. They offered 100 million yen - four times as much as the *Yomiuri*. Too late, the *Yomiuri* realised the effect that losing the Meijin tournament would have on their circulation, and matched the *Asahi* bid, but since the Kiin had already signed with the *Asahi* they refused the *Yomiuri* offer. The increasingly desperate *Yomiuri* even resorted to legal action to try to get the tournament back, but to no avail. Since they were unable to regain the Meijin tournament, they instituted a new tournament, the *Kisei*, and offered 170 million yen prize money for it - making it the top title in Japan at a stroke.

The Kisei tournament was (and still is) a very complicated affair. It begins with nine separate knockout championships, one for each dan grade, followed by a series of games between the nine winners - the 1 dan winner plays the 2 dan winner, the winner of that game plays the 3 dan winner, and so on up to 6 dan; the winner of that game plays the 7 dan runner-up, and the winner of that game joins a knockout tournament with the 7 dan winner, both 8 dan finalists and all four 9 dan semi-finalists, plus the loser of the previous year's title match, the holders of all the other major titles, and a number of other players chosen by a special committee (thus making the Kisei the only tournament in which it is possible to be seeded back into the competition after having been eliminated in an earlier round!). Whoever wins through this final tournament challenges the reigning Kisei for the title. The whole thing takes some eighteen months, so that the early stages of the tournament have to start long before the previous year's title match is decided (see APPENDIX I for a list of Kisei title winners).

Everyone expected the Kitani Dojo's players to dominate the first Kisei tournament in 1977, but in the event the two finalists were both veterans - Hashimoto Utaro, now sixty-nine, and Fujisawa Shuko, aged fifty-one. Shuko won the match 4-1 and became the first Kisei, but few people expected him to retain the title for long with the young stars of the Kitani Dojo snapping at his heels. But Shuko had other ideas - he held the title for six years, defeating Kato, Ishida, Rin, Otake, and Rin again. Finally, in 1983, he lost 4-3 to Cho Chikun, but by then he had established his niche in go history - this despite a drink problem which caused him to spend most of his time in a drunken stupor. (He would dry out for the Kisei title match each year, and hit the bottle again as soon as he had defended his title. His results in other tournaments were pitiful.)

Cho held the title for three years, but lost in 1986 to Kobayashi Koichi. Kobayashi had had a relatively poor record over the previous decade for a player of his ability; he went eight years, from 1976 to 1984, without winning a major title. However, he had won the Meijin title from Cho in 1985, and was now in a position to take the Kisei title as well.

The Kisei title match was held in rather unfortunate circumstances, since Cho had suffered a serious road accident a few days previously. He had to play in a wheelchair, with four plaster casts, and was in great pain throughout the match. It says a great deal for Cho's fortitude that he managed to win two of the first three games, but under the circumstances it was not surprising that Kobayashi won the next three to take the title.

Kobayashi held the Kisei title for eight consecutive terms. At the time, of all the pupils of the Kitani Dojo, he looked likely to be the most successful - he also held the Meijin title for seven consecutive terms (1988-94), though he never won the Hon'inbo title. This was seemingly reserved for Cho, who



won it for a record ten consecutive terms (1989-98), before losing in 1999 to another Korean, Cho Sonjin, who promptly lost the title to O Meien in 2000. Cho also won the Meijin title for four terms (1996-99) and the Kisei title for four terms (again 1996-99), then lost both titles in 2000, the Kisei title going to O Rissei and the Meijin title to Yoda Norimoto. It is rather alarming from a Japanese perspective to realise that before Yoda's win, no native Japanese player had won any of the big three Japanese titles since 1995. Admittedly Cho Chikun, O Rissei and the rest are all products of the Japanese professional system – Cho left Korea at such a young age that he only has a young child's level of fluency in Korean. All the same, considering the current state of Chinese and particularly Korean go, and the decline in the game's popularity in Japan, it is hard to deny that after four centuries of Japanese domination, the centre of world go is moving elsewhere.

## APPENDIX A: Historical Meijins

Note: All but the last two players on this list also concurrently held the office of godokoro, though Dosetsu did not receive the appointment until 1710 and Satsugen not until 1770.

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|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Hon'inbo Sansa (1603-23)        | 6. Hon'inbo Dochi (1721-27)    |
| 2. Inoue Nakamura Doseki (1623-30) | 7. Hon'inbo Satsugen (1767-88) |
| 3. Yasui Sanchi I (1668-76)        | 8. Hon'inbo Jowa (1831-39)     |
| 4. Hon'inbo Dosaku (1677-1702)     | 9. Hon'inbo Shuei (1906-07)    |
| 5. Inoue Dosetsu Inseki (1708-19)  | 10. Hon'inbo Shusai (1914-40)  |

## APPENDIX B: Heads of the Go Schools

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
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| <b>Hon'inbo School:</b><br>1. Sansa, Meijin (1612-23)<br>2. San'etsu, 8 dan (1630-58)<br>3. Doetsu, 7 dan (1658-77)<br>4. Dosaku, Meijin (1677-1702)<br>Doteki, 7 dan (heir 1684-90)<br>Sakugen, 7 dan (heir 1692-99)<br>5. Dochi, Meijin (1702-27)<br>6. Chihaku, 6 dan (1727-33)<br>7. Shuhaku, 6 dan (1733-41)<br>8. Hakugen, 6 dan (1741-54)<br>9. Satsugen, Meijin (1754-88)<br>10. Retsugen, 8 dan (1788-1808) | 11. Genjo, 8 dan (1809-27)<br>12. Jowa, Meijin (1827-39)<br>13. Josaku, 7 dan (1839-47)<br>14. Shuwa, 8 dan (1847-73)<br>Shusaku, 7 dan (heir 1848-62)<br>15. Shuetsu, 6 dan (1873-79)<br>16. Shugen, 4 dan (1879-84)<br>17. Shuei, 7 dan (1884-86)<br>18. Shuho, 8 dan (1886)<br>19. Shuei, Meijin (1887-1907)<br>20. Shugen, 6 dan (1907-08)<br>21. Shusai, Meijin (1908-40) |
| <b>Yasui School:</b><br>1. Santetsu, 8 dan (1612-44)<br>2. Sanchi I, Meijin (1644-96)<br>Shunchi, 6 dan (heir 1674-86)<br>3. Chitetsu, 7 dan (1696-1700)<br>4. Senkaku, 8 dan (1700-37)<br>Chisen, 6 dan (heir 1727-28)                                                                                                                                                                                              | 5. Shuntetsu Senkaku, 8 dan (1737-75)<br>6. Sentetsu, 7 dan (1775-80)<br>7. Senchi Senkaku, 8 dan (1780-1814)<br>8. Chitoku Senchi, 8 dan (1814-38)<br>9. Sanchi II, 7 dan (1838-58)<br>10. San'ei, 7 dan (1858-1903)                                                                                                                                                          |

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| <b>Inoue School:</b><br>1. Nakamura Doseki, Meijin (1612-30)<br>2. Genkaku Inseki, 7 dan (1630-73)<br>3. Dosa Inseki, 7 dan (1673-92)<br>4. Dosetsu Inseki, Meijin (1692-1719)<br>5. Sakuun Inseki, 8 dan (1719-34)<br>Yuseki, 5 dan (heir 1720-26)<br>6. Shunseki Inseki, 8 dan (1734-72)<br>7. Shuntatsu Inseki, 7 dan (1772-92) | 8. Intatsu Inseki, 7 dan (1792-1805)<br>9. Shunsaku Inseki, 7 dan (1805-10)<br>10. Insa Inseki, 7 dan (1810-24)<br>11. Gen'an Inseki, 8 dan (1824-46)<br>12. Setsuzan Inseki, 6 dan (1846-50)<br>13. Matsumoto Inseki, 7 dan (1850-91)<br>14. Otsuka Inseki, 8 dan (1891-1904)<br>15. Tabuchi Inseki, 5 dan (1906-17)<br>16. Egeta Inseki, 7 dan (1917-61) |
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| <b>Hayashi School:</b><br>1. Monnyusai, 8 dan (1612-?)<br>2. Monnyu, 6 dan (?-1685)<br>3. Gen'etsu Monnyu, 5 dan (1685-1706)<br>4. Bokunyu Monnyu, 8 dan (1706-26)<br>5. Incho Monnyu, 8 dan (1727-43)<br>6. Monri Monnyu, 7 dan (1743-46)<br>7. Tennyu Monnyu, 7 dan (1746-57) | 8. Yugen Monnyu, 7 dan (1757-89)<br>9. Mon'etsu Monnyu, 7 dan (1789-1816)<br>10. Tetsugen Monnyu, 6 dan (1816-19)<br>11. Genbi Monnyu, 8 dan (1819-48)<br>12. Hakuei Monnyu, 7 dan (1848-64)<br>Yubi, 5 dan (heir 1856-62)<br>13. Shuei, 5 dan (1864-84) |
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### APPENDIX C: Challenge Matches of the Edo Period

- San'etsu, 2nd Hon'inbo v. Sanchi I, 2nd Yasui:  
Played for promotion to Meijin godokoro between 1645-53. Resulted in a 3-3 draw, Black winning every game on *tagaisen*, so neither player was appointed.
- Sanchi I, 2nd Yasui v. Doetsu, 3rd Hon'inbo:  
Played after Doetsu objected to Sanchi's appointment as Meijin godokoro. 20 games played between 1668-75. Doetsu won by 9-3 with 4 jigo on *josen* then 3-1 on *sen'aisen*, so Sanchi conceded the match and resigned as Meijin godokoro in 1676.
- Senkaku, 4th Yasui, v. Dochi, 5th Hon'inbo:  
Played to settle whether Dochi should play Senkaku on *tagaisen* instead of *josen*. 3 games played on *sen'aisen* in 1705-06. Dochi won 3-0 and Senkaku conceded the point.
- Shunseki Inseki, 6th Inoue, v. Shuhaku, 7th Hon'inbo:  
Played after Shunseki and Hayashi Incho Monnyu blocked Shuhaku's promotion to 7 dan. 8 games played on *sen'aisen* between 1739-40. Shuhaku was ahead 4-3 with 1 jigo when he fell ill and died.
- Shunseki Inseki, 6th Inoue, v. Satsugen, 9th Hon'inbo:  
Played after Shunseki objected to Satsugen applying for promotion to Meijin godokoro. 6 games played on *tagaisen* between 1766-67. Satsugen won 5-0 with 1 jigo and his promotion to Meijin was approved, though he had to wait until 1770 for his appointment as godokoro.
- Gen'an, 11th Inoue, v. Shuwa, later 14th Hon'inbo:  
Played after the Hon'inbo school objected to Gen'an applying for promotion to Meijin godokoro. 1 game played on *sen'aisen* in 1840. Shuwa won so comfortably that Gen'an conceded the match immediately and withdrew his application.

**Note on handicaps:** *Tagaisen*: The players take Black and White in alternate games. *Sen'aisen*: The weaker player takes Black in two games out of three. The handicap for a 1-dan difference in strength. *Josen*: The weaker player takes Black in every game. The handicap for a 2-dan difference in strength.

## APPENDIX D: Castle Game Results, 1710-20

**Note:** First named player took Black.

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| <p>1710<br/>Yasui Senkaku v. Hon'inbo Dochi:<br/>Black wins by 2 points.<br/>Hayashi Bokunyu Monnyu v. Inoue Sakuun:<br/>Black wins by 3 points.</p> <p>1711<br/>Hon'inbo Dochi v. Hayashi Bokunyu Monnyu:<br/>Black wins by 5 points.<br/>Inoue Sakuun v. Yasui Senkaku:<br/>Black wins by 3 points.</p> <p>1712<br/>Hayashi Bokunyu Monnyu v. Hon'inbo Dochi:<br/>Black wins by 2 points.<br/>Yasui Senkaku v. Inoue Sakuun:<br/>Black wins by 3 points.</p> <p>1713<br/>Hon'inbo Dochi v. Inoue Sakuun:<br/>Black wins by 5 points.<br/>Hayashi Bokunyu Monnyu v. Yasui Senkaku:<br/>Black wins by 3 points.</p> <p>1714<br/>Inoue Sakuun v. Hon'inbo Dochi:<br/>Black wins by 3 points.<br/>Yasui Senkaku v. Hayashi Bokunyu Monnyu:<br/>Black wins by 4 points.</p> | <p>1715<br/>Hon'inbo Dochi v. Yasui Senkaku:<br/>Black wins by 5 points.<br/>Inoue Sakuun v. Hayashi Bokunyu Monnyu:<br/>Black wins by 3 points.</p> <p>1716<br/>Yasui Senkaku v. Hon'inbo Dochi:<br/>Black wins by 2 points.<br/>Hayashi Bokunyu Monnyu v. Inoue Sakuun:<br/>Black wins by 3 points.</p> <p>1717<br/>Hon'inbo Dochi v. Inoue Sakuun:<br/>Black wins by 5 points.<br/>Yasui Senkaku v. Hayashi Bokunyu Monnyu:<br/>Black wins by 4 points.</p> <p>1718<br/>Hayashi Bokunyu Monnyu v. Hon'inbo Dochi:<br/>Black wins by 3 points.<br/>(Only one castle game played this year)</p> <p>1719<br/>Hon'inbo Dochi v. Hayashi Bokunyu Monnyu:<br/>Black wins by 5 points.<br/>Yasui Senkaku v. Inoue Sakuun:<br/>Black wins by 3 points.</p> <p>1720<br/>Inoue Sakuun Inseki v. Hon'inbo Dochi:<br/>Result jigo.<br/>Hayashi Bokunyu Monnyu v. Yasui Senkaku:<br/>Black wins by 3 points.</p> |
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**Note:** Since Inoue Dosetsu Inseki was Meijin godokoro, he did not take part in the castle games, though his heir Sakuun did. No players other than the four mentioned above were eligible to play castle games during this decade, since none of the other three go heads had selected their heirs yet and no other players had reached 7 dan - an indication of the poor state of the Japanese go world at this time.

## APPENDIX E: Shusaku's Castle Game Record

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| <p>1849</p> <p>1. B v. Yasui Sanchi II: won by 11 points.</p> <p>2. B v. Sakaguchi Sentoku: won by resignation.</p> <p>1850</p> <p>3. B v. Sakaguchi Sentoku: won by 8 points.</p> <p>4. B v. Ito Showa: won by 3 points.</p> <p>1851</p> <p>5. B v. Hayashi Hakuei Monnyu: won by 7 points.</p> <p>6. B v. Yasui Sanchi II: won by resignation.</p> <p>1852</p> <p>7. W v. Inoue Matsumoto Inseki: won by 2 points.</p> <p>8. B v. Ito Showa: won by 6 points.</p> <p>1853</p> <p>9. B v. Sakaguchi Sentoku: won by resignation.</p> <p>10. W v. Yasui Sanchi II: won by 1 point.</p> | <p>1854</p> <p>11. W v. Inoue Matsumoto Inseki: won by resignation.</p> <p>1855</p> <p>Castle games cancelled.</p> <p>1856</p> <p>12. W v. Ito Showa: won by resignation.</p> <p>1857</p> <p>13. B v. Yasui Sanchi II: won by resignation.</p> <p>1858</p> <p>14. W v. Sakaguchi Sentoku: won by 3 points.</p> <p>1859</p> <p>15. B v. Ito Showa: won by 9 points.</p> <p>16. B v. Hattori Seitetsu: won by 13 points.</p> <p>1860</p> <p>17. W v. Hayashi Yubi: won by 4 points.</p> <p>1861</p> <p>18. W v. Hayashi Hakuei Monnyu: won by 14 points.</p> <p>19. W v. Hayashi Yubi: won by resignation.</p> |
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